AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

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A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE PEOPLES

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HOW IT IS WITH US

CATTARAGUS (Seneca Country) Early 1950s - The cattaraugus Creek winds its way westward through the cliffs and over the rapids of the stunning Zoar Valley, through the center of the non-Indian village of Gowanda and then through the Seneca country that bears its name to an inland sea. Along its banks and the rolling hills that rise from the valley live a large share of the Seneca people - the Keepers of the Western Door of the ancient Iroquois people - a stronghold of the culture of the people of the Longhouse.

It was a windy, sunny summer's day. My father and I were walking along the driveway outside our home. "You see these little flecks?" he said, pointing to specks in the dust. "I think that's from the atomic bombs they are testing in the desert."

We looked at the tiny specks in the dust. I remember stooping over and picking up several on the end of my finger, looking at them. We thought that they must have been carried by the wind for thousands of miles, and then deposited here. Tiny bits of dust, not much bigger than a period on one of these pages. Twenty-five years ago (or so) those specks of dust were little more than a curiosity. They were impressive enough, and awesome enough, that I can still remember holding them on my finger as a little boy, and that we wondered then if they were dangerous.

Today, the Seneca people are facing a moral and spiritual crisis such as theyhave not experienced in many decades. As we go to press, the president of the Seneca Nation is facing trial in Buffalo NY on charges related to embezzlemtn, theft and threatening of a grand jury witness. Among the Senecas, there is any air of turbulence - a dissatisfaction with corruption in government accompanied with an understanding by many that there has been corruption in that government for many years. And within all that, old antagonisms keep coming to the surface - disagreements along political and family lines which have divided the Seneca people for generations and which are expressed in the form of dissatisfaction, ultimately, with this personality or that personality. But the real issues, the life and death issues, have not yet surfaced. A few miles away, near the headwaters of the Cattaraugus Creek at West Valley, lies an abandoned nuclear fuel reprocessing plant from which there has already leaked radioactive materials into the Buttermilk and Cattaraugus Creeks - the nuclear age is truly upon us.

While the people at Cattaraugus argue over the merits of various allegedcorupt actions within their government, and while individuals and political parties vie for position in the administration of federal funding which has become the primary function of the Seneca Nation of Indians Inc., the most ominous of threats to their very existence remains virtually ignored. At West Valley there lies in storage some 170 tons of radioactive spent fuel rods, 2 million cubic feet of low level radioactive waste, 100,000 cubic feet of high-level solid waste, 600,000 gallons of high level neutralized waste, and 12,000 gallons of high-level acid liquid waste.

Tiny specks of dust in the wind a quarter of a century ago very probably heralded a future of terror and misery for generations of mankind, a terror and misery which has only just begun. But the Senecas aren't alone in their problems - the waste enters the water system that flows across the Seneca lands into lake Erie and Buffalo's drinking waters, over Niagara Falls and into the St. Lawrence Seaway and from there, into the waters of the world. There are many West Valleys.

We wonder: what does it mean to people that their government is corrupt?, that it doesn't concern itself with the safety and health of your children?

We wonder: What does it mean to people that they are being poisoned? What does it mean to you?

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The AKWESASNE NOTES People.

Diane, Olivia, Thelma, Leslie, Kaientares, Gai-ha-tah, Keith, Adam, Verna, and Wenjie, Dan B., Regina, Bob, Cheryl, Jose and Sotsisowah.

Oh, and Segwalise.

MONEY ISN'T EVIRYTHING, BUT... it helps to keep a newspaper going. Our costs are going up like everything else, but donations are not keeping pace with the cost increases. If you're one of those people who have been meaning to send us some money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can keep producing this newspaper. Total costs of this issue will exceed $14,000, and there are rumors of a price rise in the paper industry.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your Contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible.

The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation, under 501-3-C of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

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You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

YOU ARE ON INDIAN LAND

A radio program series produced by AKWESASNE NOTES won much aclaim when aired by 200 National Public Radio stations. The following nine cassettes are programs from that series. We are continuing to make available materials for your class, school, library, or for your personal invormation. Tapes available Jan. 1, 1979.

Statement From the Longhouse

An official statement of the traditional government of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne. Akwesasne is located on the St. Lawrence River. It borders Canada on one side, and the United States on the other. This tape was recorded during an interview granted to CBC. Mohawk leaders speak on the issue of sovereignty. One of the Mohawk sub-chiefs speaks of the importance of nature and the rights of all people to follow their original instructions. Also included are highlights of a short speech by Buchanan of the Black Resource Center in Bisban, Austrailia, which gives an introduction to the situation of Native people in Austrailia.

Natural World Principles and Treaties

Oren Lyons, Iroquois statesman from Onondaga, talks about living in the natural world and the importance of the treaties in the survival of the natural world. Highly recommended.

Wounded Knee Epilogue

Comprehensive overview of the 1973 Wounded Knee controversy and subsequent trials. Included are reports from inside the occupied village, and at trials with key figures – Mans, Banks, Moves Camp, and the lawyers. For this program Kevin McKiernan of Minnesota Public Radio received first place in the 11th annual Armstrong Awards for excellence in programming.

I Am Native

natural people of Aztlan, talks about being "Chicano," and about finding his direction. "You never can be free being something you are not." Includes 2 poems plus music from the Mestizo album.

Dene Nation

Natural world leaders along the proposed route of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline address Canada's Berger Inquiry about the wide-ranging effects of the most expensive and destructive project ever undertaken by Canada. Also highlights Native folk singers and their songs about their land.

Contributions of Native People

Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden) gives a talk on the many contributions the Native people have given to the world – an excellent broad perspective of the misconceptions that non-Indians too often have of Native peoples. Fine material for young people in the process of unlearning Indian stereotypes.

Alcatraz Is Not An Island

Mohawk Poet Peter Blue Cloud looks at the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz in retrospect. Blue Cloud edited the book *Alcatraz Is Not An Island,* and remembers Mohawk leader Richard Oakes. Highlighted by Oakes' speech explaining that the occupation of our lands is an extension of the Alcatraz Island occupation.

God Is Red

Vine Deloria Jr., noted Lakota philosopher, author, and attorney, speaks on the importance of Native religious values for the Native movement and the future of North America. He offers an alternative to Christianity through a re rn of Native concepts of nature which have roots in his land.

History of the Iroquois Confederacy

Tehanetorens, founder and director of the Six Nations Museum in Onchiota, reads a beaded belt explaining the history of the Six Nations – the first true democracy which the United States constitution is based on.

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Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price–but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

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Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection – you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work – help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES – tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

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Native Nations And The Nuclear Fuel Cycle

Uranium is crucial to the nuclear fuel cycle. Uranium is the raw material which is processed to produce the energy for nuclear power plants. Over two-thirds of the uranium reserves in this country are on Indian lands. Indian lands supplied 100% of the uranium produced in the United States in 1974. Looking at total Native reserves as one nation, they rank sixth in the world. We are the "source" of the nuclear fuel cycle, but not by our choice.

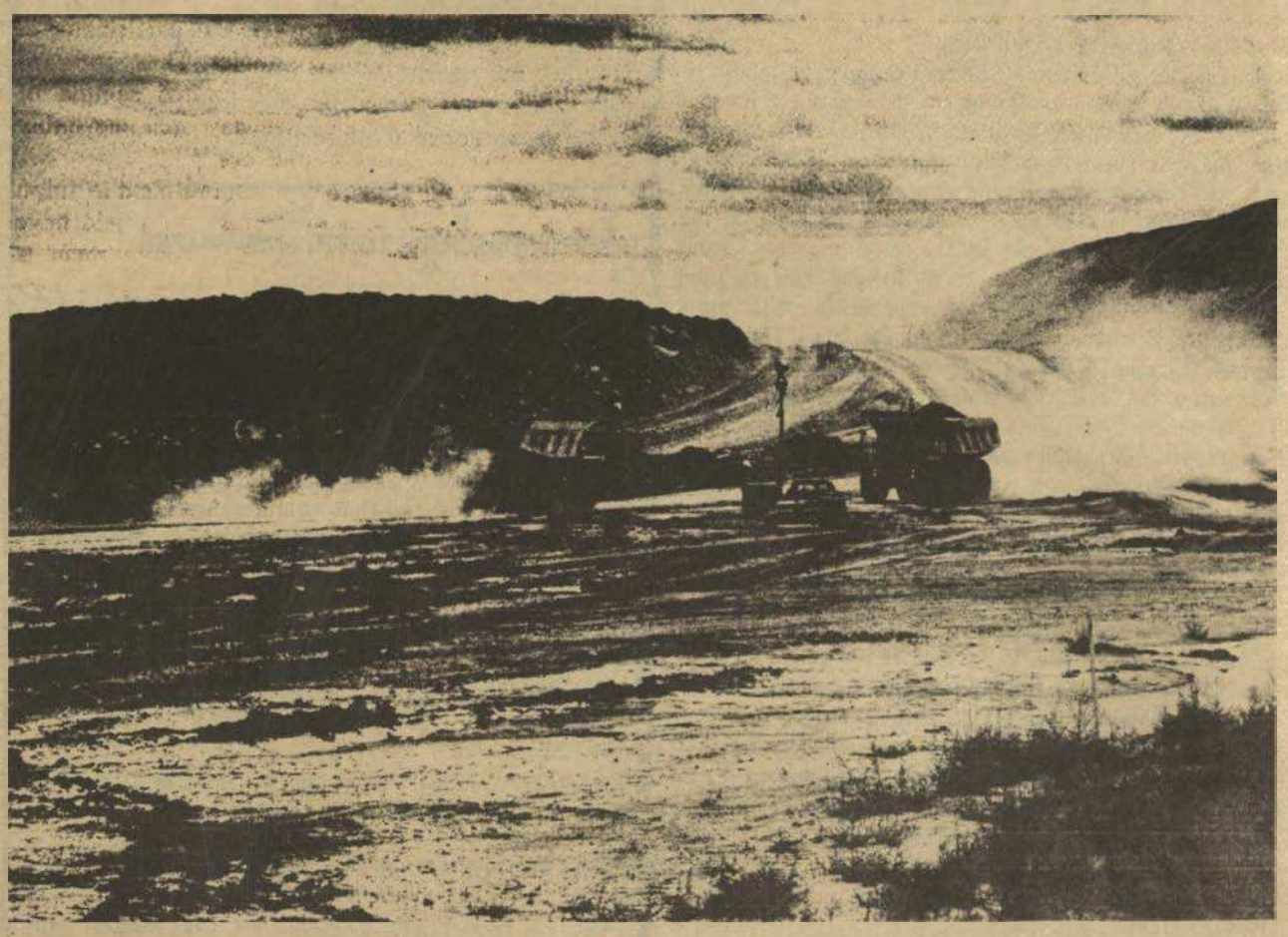
Now, because energy corporations such as Kerr-McGee, Anaconda (a division of Atlantic Richfield), General Electric, and EXXON to name a few, want that uranium for nuclear power plants, Indian people are in the process of being recolonized for energy development. Indian peoples have seen enough of Western economic expansion. We now live in poverty in our homelands ("reservations" as the Bureau of Indian Affairs terms them). Our lands encompass less than 1% of our original landbase. In 1977, approximately 90% of all Indian people living on "reservations" suffer from one form or another of malnutrition. The life expectancy for Native people is 47 years, in comparison to 70 years for the general population.

Indian people do not want to be colonized by the "energy corporations or the U.S. Departments of Energy and Interior. Indian people demand a right of self-determination, but are subjected to severe repression by three stages of the nuclear fuel cycle. The three stages of the nuclear fuel cycle which affect Indian peoples are 1) the mining, 2) the milling and processing of uranium, and 3) the disposal of radioactive wastes.

The Navajo and Spokane nations are the major suppliers of Indian uranium. The Navajo Nation is located in the "four corners" area of the United States, and the Spokane Nation is located in the State of Washington. The Bureau of Indian Affairs approves leases for uranium mining on these lands. The people who live in the leased area are frequently not told of the future use of the land. Many people end up working for the uranium producing corporation.

In 1975, 3,400 underground miners and 900 stripminers were employed by the uranium industry in the Navajo Nation. At Laguna Pueblo, one out of every five people works in the uranium mines, in the Spokane Nation, one out of every four people in the labor force has worked the uranium mine at sometime in his life. Needless to say, it only takes a few days of low-level radiation to kill a uranium miner.

In 1975, it was learned that of the 100 Navajo miners who worked the mesa mine, 18 were already dead of lung cancer and radiation induced illnesses. Twenty-one others were being watched closely, and doctors feared that many more would die. Those Navajo uranium miners were paid about $1.60 per hour to mine uranium, and most of them will end up with radiation induced lung cancer. That, my friends, is colonization.



The second stage of the nuclear fuel cycle which affects Native people is the processing of nuclear fuels. In Grants, New Mexico, a predominantly Indian area, there are three uranium milling plants. The plants are operated by Anaconda, United Nuclear Homestake Partners, and Kerr McGee. As a "uranium boom town," much of the labor force is employed by the uranium milling companies. At the uranium plants, workers are subjected to high dosages of radiation, while earning meager wages.

The final stage of the nuclear fuel cycle, or the "back end," is the disposal of radioactive wastes. EXXON (Standard Oil of New Jersey), has a 400,000 acre lease in the Navajo Nation. The lease was approved by the Secretary of the Interior after he waived 13 regulations. EXXON proposes to dispose of radioactive wastes in the leased area. The wastes could easily leak into the water tables and contaminate the drinking, agricultural and livestock water of the Navajo people.

Indian people do not use or benefit from the nuclear power plants. Indians are only exploited by the nuclear industry. Indian people are paid pennies per pound of uranium, and their homelands are slated for use as nuclear waste disposal sites. Most Native people (there is a very small number of exceptions to this,) do not want to be recolonized for the profits of energy companies at the cost of their lives and the lives of the American people as well. Native people demand a right to self-determination, a right to a radiation-free future for their children.

IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY 1

He was a short, stocky man with a dark, heavy-set face and he looked a bit out of place in the modern motel room It was the late evening of a day full of meetings – a conference of anthropologists who were concerned about the effects of Western development on the tribal peoples of the Amazon River Basin.

The day had been filled with testimony and position papers – factual, scientific information attempting to describe the devastation on the tribal peoples, the disruption of their cultures, and the destruction of their traditional economies.

In the evening, the Indians got together. The short, stocky man, whose name was Simeon, was sitting in a corner, in a stiff-backed chair. There was another man there, too, a Seneca from the Six Nations Confederacy. They had come together to trade perceptions on a more basic level.

The Seneca man had just told a long story. It was more than a story, really, it was something of a history and also a projection. It was a history of his people that started way back when human beings were still young and then it got to the present and very much to my surprise, it kept going. It went into the future and it also described contemporary events in an all-encompassing way, so that in their unfolding, these events could be seen to fulfill an expectation in history. The story that he told was called the Four Directions Prophesy. It is very complicated and it is not up to me to give it here. It can be said, however, that it is a prophesy which involves the combined teachings of several Native peoples and that they interlock in such a fashion that they give a penetrating and intricate (and awesome) description of current events. It can be said also that elders from the various Native nations involved have met repeatedly and quietly these past few years in the effort to decipher the totality of the message.

The Seneca man had layed out a very condensed version of it and even so had been speaking for two hours. Simeon had listened attentively. Simeon is a Yanomano/Maquiritari Indian from the jungles of Northeast Venezuela.

"Ask him," the Seneca man had said to the interpreter, "if his people have anything like this in their religion?"

This was translated and Simeon took on a bewildered look.

"We don't have 'religion,' " he said.

The Seneca nodded. "I understand," he said. "Not religion, then. In his tradition, in the old stories – is there a prophesy like that?"

Simeon listened to the translation. His face lit up. "Yes, yes, many stories," he said. "But religion no. Religion is for missionaries."

We all laughed. Then he told us this:

"Among my people," he said, "near the courtry where we live, there are some mountains – a range of mountains. They are sacred mountains. One is a bear, one is a monkey, and one is a bird. For many, many years, since before the white people existed our spiritual men have gone to those mountains. No one else is allowed to go. There is much power in those mountains and elders always speak of a dangerous material, to be used only a little at a time, as medicine.

Simeon's hands signalled various shapes. "Some rocks they bring back – black rocks – are used in ceremonies."

How Much Development?

by Winona LaDuke

As of 1978, 1,185,000 acres of Indian land was under lease for uranium exploration and developments. Breakdown of Indian land leases (according to the Department of Energy,) is as follows: Colorado - 162,000 acres (Uts Mountain lease recently cancelled by Mobil Oil.) New Mexico - 786,000 acres, Washington 57,000 acres and Wyoming - 180,000 acres.

These figures do not include Indian treaty land, nor the land recently leased by energy companies. For example, the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, made between the United States and the Sioux, Arapahoe and Cheyenne nations, guarantees a large portion of Wyoming (the Powder River Basin,) to the Native Nations "for as long as the grass shall grow." The United States subsequently broke the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1871, and commenced gold mining in the Black Hills of South Dakota. The Black Hills are sacred mountains of the Native people of that region.

Gold is still mined in the Black Hills, - one-fourth of the U.S. gold production comes from this area. Gold, however, is not the most significant resource of this area. In 1978, the Department of Energy estimated that 31% of the "domestic" uranium reserves lie in Wyoming. This uranium is found in vast quantities in the Powder River Basin and exploration in the Black Hills of South Dakota is currently underway by EXXON, Union Carbide, and United Nuclear Homestake. If these uranium deposits on Indian treaty land were counted as part of Indian reserves, Indian nations would own approximately 80% of the uranium in North America.

WHAT IS URANIUM?

Uranium is the raw material used to fuel nuclear power plants and make nuclear weapons. The mining of uranium is the start of what is called the nuclear fuel cycle. The cycle consists of uranium mining, milling (processing of uranium ore into "yellowcake"), nuclear fuel assembly, nuclear waste disposal. Throughout the nuclear fueled cycle, the materials must be transported over the United States. Most mining is in the west, while processing is in the east. Reactors and nuclear facilities are located in nearly every state, and a national nuclear waste disposal site is now proposed for Carlsbad, New Mexico. Transportation of nuclear materials is conducted by train, truck and air travel.

Uranium is radioactive. Radiation is a common form of energy which is around us everywhere. Radiation bombards our planet from deep space and from the sun, and there is a certain amount of radiation from elements in the earth's composition. Scientists today propose a number of theories about the roll of this natural or "background" radiation in the formation of life on this planet. It is believed that radiation affects the genetic composition of life forms, and that it is the source or catalyst of the process of biological evolution. It is also believed that radiation is responsible for the process of aging in individual organisms.

Uranium is a radioactive element which occurs in nature. It is a unstable element, which means that uranium atoms emit particles of mater smaller that atoms at high speed in the process known as "decaying..' The emmission of particles is a measurable for of energy known as radiation. Elements which emit radiation are called radioactive elements.

Some forms of Uranium and a number of other "nuclear" elements constantly give off off radiation. The radiation is given off in all directions and cannot be de-activated. Radioactive materials eventually decay, becoming less radioactive with the passage of time. Each radioactive material decays at a different rate. The rate of decay is measured in terms of a "half-life" which simply means that an element with a half-life of ten years would, at the end of ten years, emit one half the radiation that it had at the time of its formation. Uranium decays very slowly. It has a half-life of five billion years.

Uranium is a rare metal. Where it is found in nature, it is almost always of a low-grade consistency. Uranium possesses the peculiar property that when its radioactive isotope (the radioactive atoms of the metal) are concentrated, and atomic reactive is triggered which produces heat. If enough of this material is concentrated in the same space, a condition known as "critical mass" is reached, at which point an explosion may occur. This property enabled the United States to detonate an "atomic" bomb over Heroshima during World War II. Lower concentrations of this material produce heat which technicians are trying to harness to produce steam to run giant turbines which will in turn produce electrical energy for public consumption.

In addition to producing heat, the atomic reaction process also produces a number of "daughter" substances - radioactive matericals other than uranium. A number of scientists have been pointing to the extreme dangers to life forms poses by these radioactive materials, and to the inevitable cost in human lives caused by even very low-level exposure to man-made radioactive materials. Some scientists theorize that hight-speed sub-atomic particles from radioactive materials can strike and damage the complex chromosome molecules of individual cells, causing an unnatrual mutation in the genetic information within the cell's reproductive processes. They believe that this damage to the chromosome molecule causes cancer. Whether or not that particular theory is correct, one thing is established: exposure to radiation causes an increased probability of cancer formation.

HOW IS URANIUM MINED?

There are three methods of uranium mining - underground, strip (open pit) mining, and in- situ leaching. The first two have been used the most. In 1978, 97% of all uranium production came from strip and underground operations. The mining method depends on where ore is found in the earth - deep deposits are underground mined and strip mines produce uranium which is close to the surface. Strip mining is much more "productive" that underground mining in terms of tons per mnashift (working day). 3.7 tons per manshift can be produced in underground mining, while 11.8 tons per manshift is common in stripmining. Strip mining employs fewer workers, but underground mining released less radiation to the environment.

In-situ leaching has been recently developed as a response to excessive uranium wastes. In both underground and strip mining for every ton of uranium rock mined, only 2.24 ounces of uranium is retrieved.

In situ leaching has no wastes and requires no uranium mill. In all methods, however, water tables (underground water supplies) are contaminated with radiation.

Uranium mining in the Navajo Nation began in 1950s under contract to the Kerr McGee corporation. The uranium was used to make nuclear weapons. Keer McGee operated a series of uranium mines and mills in the Shiprock area of the Navajo lands. The lease is as negotiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was for "as long as the ore is producing in payable quantities." The corporation finished mining in the early 1970s and moved away from Shiprock. Kerr McGee abandoned a highly radioactive mill and terminally ill Navajo uranium miners. To date, twenty Navajos have died and twenty more now have radiation induced lung cancer. The

CON'T ON NEXT PAGE

"We are told in our tradition," he went on, "that if those mountains were ever disturbed, that it would cause much misfortune, a deathly rain that would flood everything and kill the people. At that time, it has been told, only those who follow the old way would survive, that they would turn into birds and fly to the mountain tops."

Here Simeon paused a moment.

"Two – three years ago," he said, "some Japanese science men (geologists) discovered uranium in those mountains. They have drilled holes and now they plan to use big machines. It is about to begin – the exploitation. My people are worried. We think the rains will begin to come now."

It was late and after his story we all retired to our rooms. The next morning, a botanist at the conference gave a report outlining the effects of the on-going deforestation of the Amazon Region. It could be scientifically projected, he said, that the de-forestation of the fragile jungle eco-system would cause vast desert areas, which in turn would raise mean temperatures in the whole Southern Hemisphere. This rise in temperature would begin a melting process in the antarctic ice-caps that would raise the ocean levels, put more moisture in the air and cause extensive amounts of rainfall. "It isn't out of the question," said the botanist, "that rain floods would threaten the Southern Hemisphere."

I remember looking over at Simeon as the scientist finished his lecture. He looked pensive, and stared forward a while. Then he closed his eyes and sat back, breathing deeply.

We travelled north into Saskatchewan, into the country of the Plains Cree people. A young Cree man who is a healer and a spiritual man among his people had invited us to attend their Sun Dance, and we arrived in time to see and help with the preparations. There was a feast to be held, and food to be prepared.

Among these people there is a strong practice of the spiritual culture. On the appointed day, the men gethered together and in a few hours they had erected a Sun Dance lodge. The people began gathering from around the communities. They came in old cars and pick-up trucks, and a few came in horse-drawn buckboards. The people pitched camp in a huge circle facing the Sun Dance lodge.

The people at this place are poor by Western standards. There is little outward display of wealth, but much display of culture. They gathered here for the purpose of a renewal of their connections to the spiritual world, and their renewal was real. There were no anthropologists or reporters present, and no one took a "leadership" roll, spiritual or otherwise.

The ceremony began. The dancers came and the

company refused to take any responsibility or to pay medical expenses.

No only did the company neglect the dying Navajos, Kerr McGee's abandoned uranium mill still stands in the area, as well as 71 acres of highly radioactive uranium mill tailings. The mill tailings are considered "wastes" of the mill processing, but those wastes retain 85% of the original radioactivity of the uranium.

Scientists now know that those waste piles, steadily emitting low-level doses of radiation, may present serious health hazards. A report from the Department of Energy, earlier this year, for example, concluded that dispersal of tailings beyong their original sites, either through wind or water erosion, increased the risk of cancer by 100% for persons living within a half mile of the piles.

Shiprock is the largest population center on the Navajo reservation. The tailings pile has been left totally exposed and lies approximately sixty feet from the San Juan River, which is the only major water source in the area. The tailings pile and uranium mill undeniably pose serious health risks to the Navajo people.

The Red Rock chapter of the Navajo Nation is home to most of the dead miners. Recently, the chapter passed a resolution seeking compensation for the loss to the community. However, to date no action has been taken by the Federal government, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the State of Arizona. The Arizona Industrial Commission regulates worker's compensation. Chairman Bruce Theary said of the compensation request:

"This is not welfare, lots of things can cause cancer. Indians have high rates of lung cancer anyway, don't they?"

The Bureau of Indian Affairs representative Lynch, however, felt otherwise. "It was not our responsibility to warn them (the miners)."

The Federal government also denied any responsibility. In 1974, only eighteen of the miners had died, but as one reporter found:

"Official after official has denied responsibility in the eighteen deaths, except one who denies that the mines even existed. While the federal government did not wilfully murder the eighteen miners, its policy of death through inaction killed them just as surely!"

The (now defunct) Atomic Energy Commission claimed to only have authority over uranium after it is out of the mine. Other departments of the federal government also choose to remain inactive on the deaths, claiming that was the job of the landowner (the tribe). Although the company, state and federal government have ignored the radiation induced deaths, the Navajo people still feel and see the impact. One man testified at a hearing on the deaths of the uranium miners:

"Where the uranium slug has been dumped, children wade in the water but break out in sores."

Laguna Pueblo has a land base of approximately 418,000 acres, much of it leased out to the Anaconda Corporation (a division of ARCO oil) for uranium mining. The leased area was the site of an agricultural valley which fed the people. Now, the land produces uranium for nuclear reactors. The mine has been in operation for twenty-five years and is now the largest uranium strip mine in the world. There has been no reclamation of any of the land, and thousands of tons of low grade uranium lie in piles in the area. In 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency found that the Laguna water was contaminated with radiation. There had been no monitoring of the water.

So far, there has been no action. One of every four people in the Laguna labor force is employed at the mine. From Laguna Pueblo, the uranium ore travels by train to nearly Grants, New Mexico. Grants is self-named " The Uranium Capital of the World,"and is the site of three mills. In june of 1977, a train carrying uranium ore derailed, spilling tons of uranium on the land. There have been a few transportation accidents from mine to mill, but most uranium arrives on schedule.

Uranium mills also pose health problems to workers. Mill workers may be exposed to high dosages of radiation from working with the uranium and other by-products of the processing stage. The Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union listed three major health concerns for uranium mill workers:

1) Radiation problems from the Uranium - which may show up in the form of kidneyproblems and possibly, cancer.

2) Chemical poisoning from working with acids - sulphuric acid and nitric acid are both used in mill processing.

3) Problems from working with ammonia - which gives off a large amoung of gas.

One Laguna man who worked at the uranium mill stated that workers would often be overcome by "dizziness" from the chemicals. Mill supervisors told the workers "to go take a breath of fresh air," then return to work. Many of the uranium mill workers are subjected to high dosages of radiation. In one case, an Environmental monitor at Kerr McGee's mill shut down mill operations over ten times in an eight month period because of environmental violations! The monitor was fired by the company and the mill continues to operate.

Each of the uranium mills leaves radioactive wastes -uranium mill tailings. There are currently twenty-two abandoned uranium mill tailing piles, with over twenty-six million tons of radioative wastes at the sites. In New Mexico alone, there are 250 acres of uranium mill tailings at active and abandoned uranium mills. By 1990, the amount of tailings could reach 280 million tons, enough to cover the city of Albuquerque to a depth of twenty-two inches.

As noted previously, these mill tailings retain 85% of the original radioactivity of uranium. Radioactive commissions include radon gas, radioactive lead, iodine, and strontium 90 - all proven carcinogens. (radon gas, inhaled by miners in underground operations, in believed to be the major cause of lung cancer. The Department of Energy estimates that 100 uranium mills will be needed by the year 2000 within the borders of the United States.

WHAT ARE THE COMPANIES' POLICIES ON LABOR AND URANIUM DEVELOPMENT?

Most operating uranium mines in the Grants Mineral Belt (Four Corners area) have exceeded radiation limits by 6.5 times. Because of the dangers of high radioactive emmissions, companies are required to protect the workers as much as possible. The nuclear industry's answer to this has been "worker rotation." Worker rotation means that in those mine and mill areas where radiation levels are highest ("hot spots"), workers are moved from the area after a while to be replaced by another worker. Conversely, workers who are employed in low radiation areas are moved into the "hot spots" to take their place. In this way, no worker, is supposed to receive excess dosages of radiation. Nuclear physicisis, however, have concluded that there is no safe level of ratiation exposure - any radiation exposure can cause cancer. Said one expert, "If you can measure it, it's too high."

Because most miners do not like to go into high radiation areas, companies have a policy called the "bonus system." The bonus system entitles workers to higher pay for producing a higher grade ore (ore which is more radioactive and which comes from hot spots). In this way, workers who need more money can make money at the price of a dose of radiation. The Oil Chemical Atomic Workers Union has called this policy unfair, as the risk of cancer is greater for these workers.

In order to remove the uranium from the rocks, explosives are used to blast away the rock shell (protective covering). Blasting is a daily occurance,

singers, and the men whose duty it was to conduct the affair. All day the ceremony continued, and into the night, for four consecutive days. It was a true spiritual ceremony, attended by perhaps a hundred people, which took place in the open and on the earth. Sometimes it was very hot and sunny, while at other times the wind blew an icy and angry rain, but through it all the people continued with their duties.

Old people stayed in the lodge for long hours under what had to be physically uncomfortable conditions, but nobody complained or showed discomfort. Song after song went through, hour after hour. At one point, a prarie thunder storm blew in – lightning and thunder – darkness, wind, then quiet. Power, a power that the people here know. Through it all, the ceremony continued uninterrupted.

We watched and participated. One could not help being impressed with the power of it all. The people come from near and far to fast and to go without water for four days while repaying elements of the universe for their good fortune and health.

In other parts of the country (among more acculturated peoples,) people find it difficult to get into a warm car and drive to a heated building for one or two hours of simple thanksgiving. But here people do this for days, and the Sun Dance is only one of the ceremonies which requires this kind of – sacrifice.

Sacrifice? No priests are evident here, no big shots, no charismatic leaders. The people who are gathered here are simple people, poor people, meeting in a clearing and making offerings to the spirits. It's pretty hard to explain what is happening, but there is a lot more going on here than meets the eye – trained or otherwise. A part of what's going on has to do with world view and with lifestyle. And there's more too.

After the ceremonies, we talked with some of the young men. They talked about their plans to move north to the lakes, away from the paved roads and towns. They talked about building and living in log cabins and hunting and fishing and reviving Cree ways. They talked about their way of life and said that it would make people strong again.

We heard of a time coming when the Cree people would need to find their own way once again, when there would be great troubles among the people, and when eventually the modern would would fail. There had already been signs of this among the (Cree) people in the cities. The things of which they spoke were already beginning to happen.

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We were riding in a car heading east through the country of the Ojibway people north of Lake Superior. One of the young men had been quiet for quite a long time – apparently deep in thought.

"You know," he said, "something has been on my mind." The others waited for him to continue.

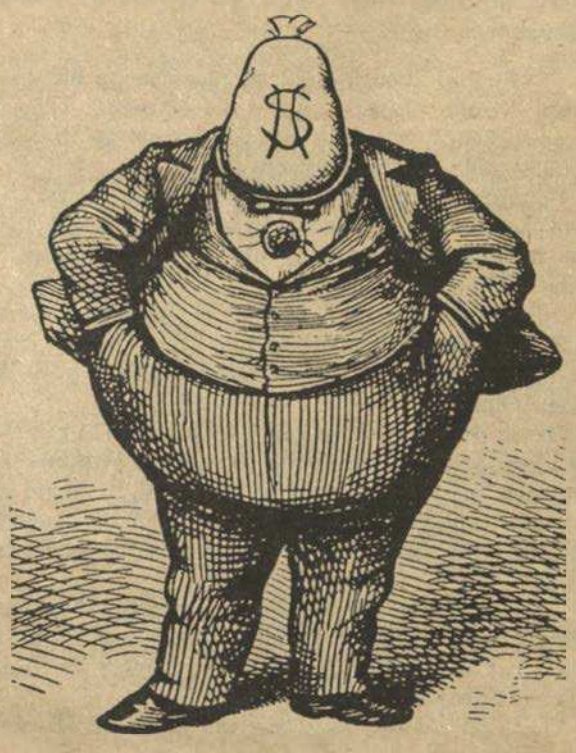
"Among the people we have been with, one thing keeps coming back to mind. Everywhere we go, the people talk about things that are going to happen in the future – great sicknesses, waters no one can drink, and hard times, even famines, ahead.

"The most knowledgeable people – those who know their own culture – say these things. And everywhere that people remember the old teachings, they say these things."

There was a silence.

"And when we go to the universities and we meet with -

sometimes happening several times a day, depending on the kind of operation. Miners are often not removed from the work area during blasting and consequently many miners have been injured. In 1967, the State mine inspectore of New Mixico reported that mining accidents had killed seven and injured 525. Many of these accidents were related to blasting. Rocks are often propelled hundreds of feet from the mine site. Underground miners are frequently rushed by their supervisors into the area just after blasting. Regulations require that miners should not enter the blasting area for



30 minutes after blasting in order that the uranium dust can settle.

Jim Tom (Navajo) formerly worked at Kerr McGee's mines at Navajo. In an interview he states:

"There was much rush in the work. We did not stay out of the mine long after blasting - onoy thirty minutes. It was very smelly and smoky from the uranium dust. But if you don't like the smoke, it's take it or leave it."

Mine inspectors are supposed to check the radiation in the mines. These inspectors are from the company and the State. Company mine inspectors are required to visit each area at least once a week and State mine inspectors whenever ppossible. These inspectors have frequently been short-changes on radiation levels, Jim Tom continues:

"When the inspectors come, the (supervisors) took them to a part of the mine where the dust levels were low. I knew what was going on. Others knew too, but we were afraid to speak up. We were afraid we would be fired." The inspectors rarely if ever, are sent to "hot spots," and especially do not enter the area when workers have been rotated to the the site.

The companies involved in the uranium industry are determined to have a high level of production. Most of the uranium which is produced in "contraced" out to domestic and foreign utilities for nuclear reactors. Over 284,000 tons is "pledged" by these corporations to nuclear reactors by the eyar 1990.

Most of this production is under the control of a very small group of large corporations. In 1977, fourteen companies were responsible for 97% of uranium production. The ownership (by lease) of the uranium reserves is also quite concentrated.

According to a study by the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, in 1977 seven firms controlled 81.5% of all uranium reserves. The top companies included Kerr McGee (33%), Gulf Oil, Continental Oil, Phelps Dodge, Getty Oil, United Nuclear, EXXON, and General Electric, ARCO, Phillips Petroleum, Union Carbide and Standard Oil follow close behind - accounting for a grand total of 74.5% of all uranium reserves under the control of oil companies.

Union Carbide is a major chemical producer, operating 2 (of3) uranium enrichment plants for the federal government. In 1978, Union Carbide reported thirty-three mines. General Electric holds massive coal reserves, makes nuclear reactos, and produces many electrical devices. This company owns five uranium mines.

The nuclear industry is clearly under the control of very large corporations which make large amounts of money on the nuclear fuel cycle. Much of the profits come from agreements made with Indians. Indians, like other so-called "developing nations, are guaranteed "royalties" for uranium production. Royalties are payments per pound (or ton in the case of coal) or uranium mined.

In 1975, Indians were paid an average of 60 cents per pound of Indian uranium. In turn, the same uranium was valued at $30 per pound at the market. In other words, Indains received 2% of the market value for Indian uranium resources. The remainder of the moeny goes to the energy corporation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs negotiated most uranium leases "for as long as the ore is producing in payable quantities." Royalties are set at constant rates instead of reflecting the increased value of the resources. In 1978, the price of uranium is quoted as high as $69 per pound, so the Indian percentage is now less than 1% market value. Past contracts between mining companies and utilities, however, have stated lower prices for uranium, so not all mining companies can capitalize ("cash in") on the new prices. New contracts, however, reflect the increased prices.

Companies are also eager to mine on Indian lands, because most Indian laborers are non-unioized. The union requires higher pay and benefits for uranium miners that most lease agreements made with Indian groups. In 1963, the union wage for uranium mining was †2.01 per house. In 1968, the price for union labor had jumped to $3.42 per hour. Navajo Indians were paid $1.25 per hour in 1963, and $2.26 per hour in 1968.

In 1975, the federal Trade Commission reported that there were 380 uranium leases on Indian lands as opposed to four on public and acquired lands. The Burear of Indian Affairs has encouraged this development. Indian royalties have been kept artificially low to facilitate uranium development on Indian lands.

In excersising its "trust responsibility" with Indian people, the BIA has proposed more mines and mills for the Indian country. In 1978, the BIA area office for the southwest released a study predicting 100 uranium mines and ten mills in the Four Corners area by the year 2000 - a region that is predominantly Indian.

In turn, other branches of the federal government have encouraged development of Indian uranium. According to Mobil Oil Corporation, President Carter proposes 300 nuclear power plants in the United States by the year 2000. Shell Oil predicts that by 1990, 30% of United States' electricity will come from nuclear power, as compared to less than 10% in 1976. The federal government has actively encouraged nuclear development through federal subsides and the energy budget. The proposed fiscal budget for 1978 included $244 million in conservation (it is estimated that 33% of current U.S. energy could be saved by conservation). Solar received $250 million. Nuclear fission received over $1 billion.

This money is used to encourage the nuclear industry, since the federal government is actively involved in the nuclear fuel cycel. One state of the nuclear fueld cycle is uranium enrichment, with only three enrichment plants in operation in the United States. All of these plants belong to the federal government, with the operation of the facilities contracted to private companies.

The federal government uses some of the wastes produced by the nuclear fuel cycle. Plutonium, a final radioactive waste (produced by nuclear reacotrs) is used to manufacture nuclear weapons.

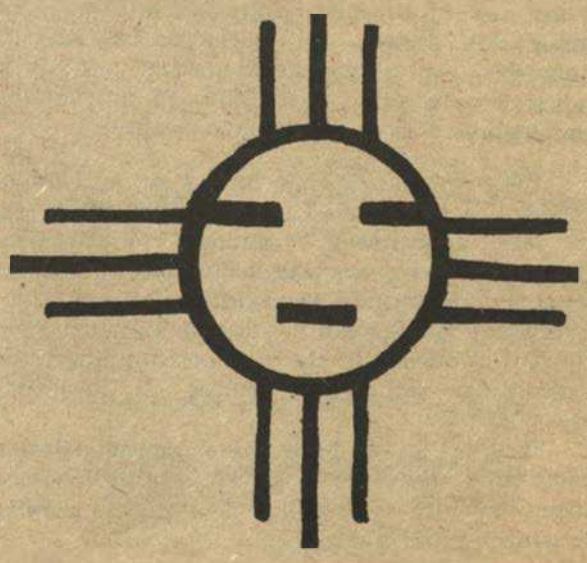
In order to ensure uranium development on Indian lands, the federal government is now training Indian uranium miners. An article in BUSINESS WEKK (nov. 7, 1977) notes: "Currently 3,200 miners work underground and 900 more are in open pit operations.

CON'T ON NEXT PAGE

some of the best educated of the (non-Indian) people," he continued, "many of them seem to be saying the same kind of things. They also predict world famine, increasing pollution and diseases, and hard times. They have an entirely different way of viewing and knowing about things, but these two – the knowledgeable Indians and the knowledgeable non-Indians – have come to many of the same kinds of conclusions from entirely different directions."

We continued on in silence, but an unspoken question passed among us. A lot of the Native people know little or nothing about the old ways, and a considerable number are not strong believers in those ways. Some of the people who pretend to be leaders of the Indian movement are actually opposed to those ways. And not so many non-Indians are paying close attention to the modern scientific prophets either. It seemed as though something serious – maybe even disastrous – will happen before most of the people, Indian or non-Indian, will see a need to think of those things. And whatever form that would take, most of us seem to be certain victims of it. Should we spend our energy trying to inform and encouraging people to prepare for the future, or should we be spending our energy in actual preparation for that future?

Or could we try to do both?



ATTENTION NATIVE ARTISTS

AKWESASNE NOTES is starting production for our 1980 Lunar Calendar. Each year we have tried to give exposure to Native artists through the use of their drawings in the calendar, the newspaper, and our posters.

This year we would like to extend this opportunity to more Native artists. We are asking for the contribution of pieces of art in black and white and as close to 11" x 17" as possible. The design of the work must work horizontally, and must be in our hands by NO LATER THAN THE FIRST WEEKOF APRIL.

Please send your submissions to:
Calendar Submissions
AKWESASNE NOTES
P.O. Box 103
Owl's Head, New York 12969

SOUTH WEST

" THE CAMERON COMMUNITY FEELS THAT THE RIVER AND THE BLAZING DESERT SUN ARE THEIR MOST PROMISING RESOURCES. "

By 1990 the industry will need 18,400 underground miners and 4,000 above ground. Once on the job, Kerr McGee estimates that it costs approximately $80,000 per miner in training, salary and benefits, as well as the costs for trainees who quit. To try and trim costs and create an ample labor force, Kerr McGee is now operating a training program at its Churchrock mine on the Navajo reservation. The two million dollar program is financed by the Labor Department and is estimated to turn out 100 workers annually. Labor Department sponsors hope the program will alleviate the tribes' chronic underemployment which is estimated at forty percent."

In 1977, $492 million was spent on uranium mine and mill construction, up 92% from 1976, In 1978, it is estimated that over $634 million will be spent on uranium mine and mill construction.

Uranium development continues to be encouraged and unchecked while serious human and environmental questions go unanswered. Each stage of the nuclear fueld cycle has taken lives, and the cancer and birth defects which have not yet appeared over the short life of the growing nuclear industry may take years to manifest. Each year, however, nuclear development and the industry which it spawned continued to grow.

The final stage of the nuclear fuel cycle is still on the drawing board. The question of the disposal of nuclear wastes has grown to be possibly the most significant political question of our times. So far thousands of pounds of radioactive wastes are deposited at nuclear reactors and weapons facilities throughout the United States. Some of these wastes will continue to be dangerous for hundreds of thousands of years. Plutonium, one of these wastes, has a half-life of 24,000 years. It is so poisonous that is has been estimated that a single pound of the substance contains enough potential to induce cancer in every human being on earth.

An there is a lot of plutonium (a wholly man-made substance) in the world. Each year one-third of the nuclear fueled rods in a reactor must be replaced. The discarded fuel rods are the equivalent of 400-500 pounds of plutonium per reactor per year. Plutonium is what Atomic bombs are made of and according to Dr. Helen Caldicott:

"Each rod of nuclear fuel is so radioactive that if you put a single rod in the ground and drove past it on a motorbike at 90 miles per hour, it would kill you by intense radiation emmission."

There is no safe way to dispose of these radioactive wastes. At Hanford, Washington, for example. 500,000 gallons of high level radioactive wastes leaked from storage tanks into the soil. The leaks went unnoticed for several weeks.

Now the federal government wants to make a national nuclear waste disposal site at Carlsbad, New Mexico. Plans are proceeding full speed ahead. Carlsbad is about 100 miles east of Mescalero Apache land but the point should be made that the wastes pose a serious health risk to all people.

Citizens For Clean Air summarized the situation nicely in their statement released in August, 1975: "The environmental and health hazards posed by the generation of these extremely long-lived radioactive wastes are unparallelled in the history of man."

CAMERON RESIDENTS: ONCE BURNED, TWICE CAUTIOUS

by Tom Barry Times Energy Reporter

In Cameron, Navajos have an unusual view of progress. Unlike many other parts of the Navajo Nation, residents here are skeptical about the benefits of energy development.

They are choosing the Sun over the Atom, Water over Minerals, and Local Control over Outside Technology.

The Cameron Community, which sits on the banks of the Little Colorado on the western Navajo, feels that the river and the blazing desert sun are their most promising resources. Although uranium lies under their land, they would rather leave it there undisturbed, than develop the nuclear fuel.

Uranium fever spread across this area of the reservation in the 1950's with mining companies and prospectors swarming over the land in search of the radioactive ore. Bu 1960, most of the high grade ore was mined out and the companies found it unprofitable to continue at the going prices.

The mining companies left the Cameron area, abandoning at leart 50 open pit uranium mines. In 1966, El Paso Natural Gas shut down its uranium mill near Tuba City, leaving over 20 acres of radioactive tailings at the site.

Many area residents harbor ill feelings about their first experience with uranium development. They are determined not to repeat that experience during the current uranium boom.

FURTHER SICKNESS AMONG OUT PEOPLE'

Last summer, two uranium mining companies named Shadow Mountain Mining and Western Navajo Mining, petitioned the Cameron Chapter to allow them to renew uranium mining on chapter land. The people of Cameron soundly defeated the proposed resolution.

Leading the opposition to uranium development was Byron Huskon, chapter vice-president and Jacques Seronde, the chapter economic development planner. Both men are actively involved in the Cameron Farm Project, a community controlled project that's now developing 1000 acres of irrigated pasture and cropland. They and many others in the Cameron area claim that renewed uranium development will threaten the agricultural project.

In an effort to stop a move to reopen the uranium mines, the farm project circulated an information sheet about the history of uranium minings in Cameron to chapter members.

"No efforts were made to back fill or even fence off the gaping pits left in the Painted Desert floor." the farm project statement claimed. "Upon the departure of the companies many Navajos employed during the mining found that their medical insurance had abruptly expired. In the case of numerous individuals suffering from various skin diseases and metabolic derangements attributable to over exposure to uranium, this loss of medical benefits was a severe blow. To this day, no compensations of any kind have been obtained."

"Western Nuclear has been very anxious to persuade members of the Cameron community to sign new lease arrangements," continued to statement. "These efforts have met with stuborn resistance from the counity; once burned, twice cautious."

Huskon and Seronce say that the Cameron Farm Project is an attempt by the community to provide for "harmonious and viable modes of economic development."

They say: "The Chapter leadership and grassroots people have resolved to undertake intensive food and forage production as an explicit alternative to allowing the uranium mines to reopen.

"The reasoning is simple: Uranium mining is a deadly poison whose extraction can lead only to further sickness among the people and uglification of the land These effects may not be worth the promises of the mining companies. On the other hand, alfalfa and corn sustain life, and the benefits of fertile soil and flourishing range lands extend far beyond the present generation."

"We had thought that all the uranium had been taken from here," says the young chapter vice-president," but with modern technology they can get low-grade ore and fine more ore.

The prospect of a new uranium boom in the area has provoked some area residents to start speaking out about the hazards that remain in the community from the earlier mining and milling.

Byron's father, Max Huskon is one such critic. He worked in the area's uranium mine from 1954 to 1961, and he says that a rash he got from his mine work still plagues him.

"From the start the workers were never told to shower or anything else," recalls the 60 year old Huskon. "All we knew was that we were working with uranium, but we didn't know the dangers. A year before the company left, they told us we had to take showers before leaving work."

Huskon and other uranium mine and mill workers wonder what were the effects on their health from all the years they weren't required to shower or change clothes before leaving work.

The older Huskon feels that the Navajo miners were treated unjustly.

"When the company blasted, the bosses told us to go back in there and work before the dust had even settled," he remembers. "The majority of the workers were Navajo. When we saw an Anglo, they were driving by in their new pickups.

While he was still working, a rash developed on his neck, he says. "I went to the doctory and talked to the company, but they said it wasn't from uranium so I didn't get any benefits. I have had the rash since 1956, and it has gotten worse. One time the rash got so bad, I couldn't breathe. My neck got real tight and I had a lot of respiratory problems."

When he perspires, the rash gets worse, he says. "I would like to work, but this think keeps bothering ,e. Whenever I do hard labor it causes me problems."

"I'm very much against the mining," asserts Max Huskon. "I've been through it, and I feel the side effects. I wouldn't want it for my people that uranium mining could come in here again."

In contrast, he feels that "the farm projects is good for the animals and the people of the community."

Another former uranium miner Clay Bigman is also dead-set against new uranium mining. "All we were at the mines for was to work," Says Bigman. "The company never old us anything about safety or health hazards. Because we didn't know anything about health problems, we never donfronted the cosses."

"Now," Say Bigman, "people are beginning to come up and say what effects uranium minings had on animals and people. We are now aware or how uranium effects people, and I don't want to be part of it."

The former miner fears there are health effects "that we haven't even seen yet." He worries that the old open pit mines that people now use as swimming holes are still radioactive.

"I'm more favorable to the farm project that to uranium mining," says John Huskon, a former miner from Cameron. "It's clean and good for the valley."

The 45 year old former uranium worker complains that sunlight irritates his eyes, a condition he attributes to his mine work. "When I did underground blasting, I

" THE COMPANY JUST MOVED OUT, LEAVING THE PITS. IT'S NOT SAFE FOR THE SHEEP, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT RAINS. "

SOUTH WEST

didn't have any goggles for protection for my nostrils.

Huskon, who worked mining uranium for Standard Oil and Ryan Oil form Colorado, is currently a trainee of the Cameron Farm Project.

SHEEP LOST IN OLD MINES

The abandoned open pit uranium mines that scar the Cameron land scape remain a hazard almost two decades after El Paso Gas and the other companies left them.

Nancy Horse lives and grazes sheep near several of the uranium pits. "It's like quicksand in these holes when it gets muddy," says the old sheepherder, who has lost seven of her sheep in one pit

"I want the holes reclaimed," she says, "They should fill them up, or at least put fences around them."

"The uranium companies didn't take care of alot of health and personal safety things," claims Nancy Horse. "They would blast even when they knew it was close to people and livestock."

Nanct Horse feels the uranium mining affected the health of her and her husband. "During the mining I was sick, but after the mining stopped the sickness went to the sleep. The mining affected my husband's lungs."

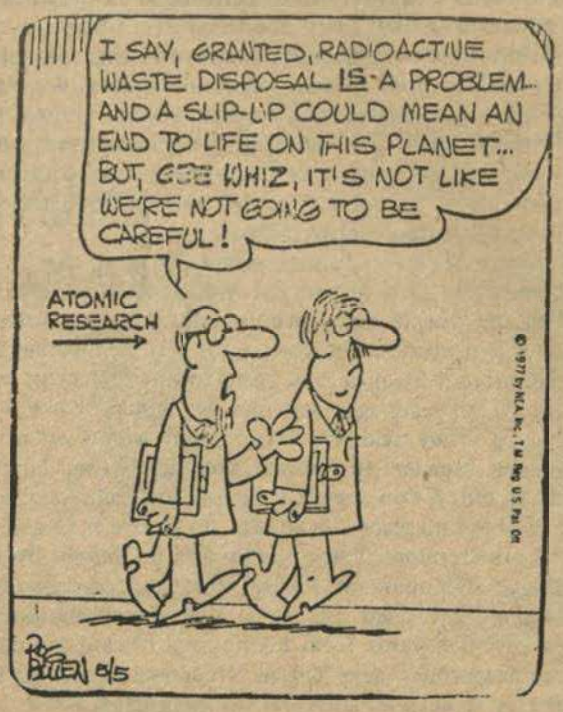
"Nobody knows who to go to with our complaints," says Amelia Horse, Nancy's daughter. "The company just moved out, leaving the pits. It's not safe for the sheep, especially when it rains."

Jean Canyon, another Cameron resident, says she lost five sheep in one abandoned uranium mine. She has received no compensation for her loss.

Harold Tso, Director of the Navajo Environmental Protection Commission discounts the possibility that the open pits present a radiation hazard. However, "They are certainly safety hazards to livestock in the area," he says.

Tso says he wants to see the federal government's plan to clean up abandoned mill tailings extended to provide for the stabilization of the many open pit uranium mines in the Cameron area.

Joe Hans of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in Las Vegas, Nevada, says the EPA is aware of the problem of abandoned mines, but has not yet had the time or the money to survey them.


I SAY, GRANTED, RADIOACTIVE WASTE DISPOSAL IS A PROBLEM... AND A SLIP-UP COULD MEAN AN END TO LIFE ON THIS PLANET... BUT, GEE WHIZ, IT'S NOT LIKE WE'RE NOT GOING TO BE CAREFUL!
ATOMIC RESEARCH
BRIAN BOLLEN 6/5

"The companies didn't given a damn about the safety or the people," asserts chapter official Byron Huskon. "The holes are still here, but no reclamation has been done at all. People have lost many sheep."

Huskon says the Cameron Chapter approached the BIA (who approved the leases) and the companies, but to no avail.

REVITALIZING THE ENVIRONMENT

A year and a half ago, the Cameron Chapoter initiated the Farm Project to as part of its economic development program to provide the community with jobs.

"The Farm Project Started," Says Huskon, "Because we started asking ourselves why we were letting all the water from the Little Colorado flow by us. People south of us use it, and we decided that we should be able to get use of it too."

"We wanted to make use of the land and the water to revitalize the environment. We figured that if we started the Farm Project, we would have some hold on the land when the uranium companies try to come back in."

The chapter official says the issue of uranium mining is "sensitive" in Cameron because of the high unemployment in the area. Despite the health and environmental problems caused by the early uranium mining, renewed mining may seem attractive to a community suffering from a 70% unemployment rate, says Huskon.

The Project aims to develop an agricultural base for economic development in the Little Colorado River Navajo communities of Cameron, Leupp, Birdsprings, and Tolani Lake.

The Farm Project has obtained funding from private foundations to assist in the early planning of the project, which propose to plant 200 acres each year for five years until the full 1,000 acres are developed.

According to the projects's budget report: "An agricultural cooperative will be formed as the Farm Project develops to handle marketing and credit arrangements for participatingcommunity people.

Farm Project Director Jacques Seronde says the Project stresses community participation. Unlike the Navajo Irrigation Project which includes many non-Navajos, the two staff for the project will be Navajo, with the exception of the project director during the first two years.

The board of directors of the cooperative will be composed of elected officials, farmers, planners, and other concerned participants form each involved chapter.

The Project will take its training programs to the individual communities, rather than having one centralized training program. In this way, benefits of the Project will be made available to the maximum number of community people. Each community will develop its own demonstration and training sites.

"The need for such a farm training project is very great," states a report by the Cameron Chapter. "In the arid valleys and uplands of the western portion of the Navajo Nation, there are very few natural resources...Severe proverty and lack of community economic development have long characterized these areas. The grassroots Navajos people want farms and pastures, and new grasses on the nearly barren rangelands, but they have never had the resources and technical skills to bring their lands into optimum productivity."

Seronde says the Farm Project has plans for solar greehouses, orchards, and demonstration farms. All the instructors will be Navajos through CETA and Division of Labor funds.

TRIBAL OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN URANIUM MINING COMPANIES

by Deb Preusch and Tom Barry

Last Summer, two mining companies, Shadow Mountain Mining Corporation and Western Navajo Mining Corporation, asked the Cameron Chapter to authorize a uranium mining lease for chapter land south of Tuba City. After tabling the request two times, the chapter told the representatives of the two companies to come back after the tribal election was over.

The companies asked the chapter to give special consideration to the request since the companies are owned by Navajos. They pointed out that it was the position of both the Cameron Chapter and the Navajo Tribe to give Navajos preference for business leases.

The said they were "Navajo individuals seeking the local and community support of Cameron Chapter in all good faith."

Their mining lease request stated that compensation for lands damaged by mining would be determined by the Navajo Land Administration. They promised that "Cameron residents would be given first employment preference."

Vice-President Byron Huskon says he expects the companies will soon be back to the chapter with their mining proposal.

Both Shadow Mountain Mining and Western Navajo Mining have the same two principal officers. They are Leonard Arviso and Charles Morrison. Both are tribal officials in Window Rock.

Leonard Arviso is the executive director of the Division of Labor. Charles Morrison supervises rights-of-way permits for the Navajo Land Administration.

Huskon says that Western Nuclear (owned by Phelps Dodge) contacted the chapter two years ago about uranium mining. "That's been it, " he says, "except for the Shadow Mountain Mining people. They say the represent Western Nuclear."

Huskon suspects that Shadow Mountain Mining and Western Navajo Mining are fronts for Western Nuclear. They are doing this thing under the table." Huskon says about Arviso and Morrison.

He says that both men have met with the chapter to push their plans for uranium mining in Cameron.

"Charles Morrison said Navajo people should get some profit out of uranium -- meaning him," says Jacque Seronde, director of the community's Farm Project. "At least he wasn't being subtle about it."

Reached by phone at his office in Window Rock, Charles Morrison says the two companies are not yet incorporated. "We're planning to incorporate as soon as we get the approval of the chapter and the various agencies."

He says they will soon be going back to the Cameron Chapter with their proposal. "We want to get local approval for the project."

"Western Nuclear is one of the companies we've talked to," says Morrison. "We want to sell ore to them. We have looked at the map with them and they have given us encouragement."

However, "there's no money flashing around yet," notes the Land Administration official.

"We'll employ and use all Navajos," says Morrison. "It'll be a one hundred percent Navajo corporation."

Morrison admits that Shadow Mountain Mining and Western Navajo Mining have had no experience in uranium mining. Morrison promises, though, that "every company that assists us will use as many Navajo as possible."

CON'T ON NEXT PAGE

SOUTH WEST

" Left on the site of the abandoned Tuba City uranium mill are over 800,000 tons of radioactive sandy wastes. "

"The Chapter is the main answer to having the mine approved," explains Morrison. "We're depending a great deal on the chapter. A lot of local people support me. Charlie Huskon over there is a good friend of mine."

Charlie Huskon is an 82-year old uranium prospector who's anxious to see uranium mining back in Cameron. "Nothing ever happened to any of us miners," says Huskon. "We used to drink water that came out of the mines with all the uranium."

"I still got my own (geigher) counter," he adds, "and I'm prospecting all over Arizona. I think Western Nuclear is going to come in and pick up the low grade. I just talked with them.

"There's a boy down in Window Rock, Charlie Morrison, and we're going to get something started here again."

Morison says that Jacques Seronde of the Farm Project "Brought the environmentalists out against me. They scared people out of their wits, talking about cancer and contamination of the water table."
again.

CETA EMPLOYEES COULD BE TRAINED

Leonard Arviso says the plans for mining in Cameron are "still being formulated." "Once the community is behind it, the tribal government will follow," says Arviso confidently.

Noting that Shadow Mountain Mining is just a novice, Arviso says "the project is gonna take a lot of money. But it shouldn't be too hard to get financing with all the big corporations in uranium."

Arviso says he and Morrison have talked to Western Nuclear and Exxon.

His position with Division of Labor and CETA poses no conflict of interest, says Arviso. "CETA employes employes could be trained for this project. Already we're training miners for Kerr McGee at Churchrock."

"Up to now, it's always been outside companies on the reservation," says Arviso "We're just a group trying to put everything together. But going to the people first, we're working in reverse of the Usual process."

Arviso explains that they formed Shadow Mountain Mining to work on Navajo land, and Western Navajo to mine on Hopi land.

Shadow Mountain Mining will soon request another hearing on their proposal, says Arviso.

Corrine Jymm, along with Morrison and Arviso, is a principal figure in both companies.

NO CONNECTIONS

Mr Hydenberg of Western Nuclear told the Navajo TIMES that "Shadow Mountain Mining has talked to us briefly. We have no connections, we just talked to them."

Hydenberg says that since the tribal council isn't issuing permits for mining, "but a Navajo corporation might be able to get a permit where other companies can't."

"If the Tribe decides to give Shadow Mountain a permit, then Western Nuclear would probably be interested," says the Western Nuclear representative,

Western Nuclear has proposed a uranium mill on private land near Cameron.

Byron Huskon is concerned that opposition by the Farm Project to Shadow Mountain Mining's plans may jeopardize CETA funds for the project. "We might be in a fix," he says.

Arvison, however told the chapter official that the chapter's stance on the mining proposal won't affect any forthcoming help from the CETA program, which Arviso oversees.

Arviso, however, told the chapter official that the chapter's stance on the mining proposal won't affect any forthcoming help from the CETA program, which Arviso oversees.

Asked is he saw a conflict of interest in the involvement of tribal officals in reservation business, Byron Huskon replied: "Yes, there might be. I feel that tribal officials should spend their time doing tribal business."

RADIATION HAZARD REMAINS NEAR TUBA CITY

The uranium ore from the open pit mines around Cameron went to the Tuba City Mill for processing. The mill, first owned by Rare Metals Corporation the by El Paso Natural Gas Co., is five miles east of Tuba City on Highway 160.

The Tuba City mill is one of the four abandoned uranium mills on the Navajo Nation. Left at the site are over 800,000 tons of radioactive sandy wastes. The Department of Energy estimates that $3 million will be needed to clean up the site.

In 1967, the Navajo Tribe demanded that El Paso stablize the tailings pile to prevent water and wind erosion. In cooperative with the U.S. Bureau of Mines, the company put a chemical coat over the pile.

"The integrity of the stabilization has worn away," says Joe Hans of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) In Las Vegas. "The tailings pile is very heavily wind eroded, tailings having been blown at least 3000 feet from the original pile."

The tailings, in fact, have completely buried a fence that El Paso put around the pile to isolate it.

A report last year by the Department of Energy (DOE) said: "The area is not adequately fenced or posted, thereby permitting unauthorized access by people and animals. In addition, an open septic tank and sewage lagoon are a hazard to animals and potentially to small children."

According to a Ford, Bacon, David Utah study commissioned by DOE, "Radon gas release from the tailings constitutes the most significant environmental impact to the inhabited area near the site." There are 26 houses within the mill site, about half of which are occupied at the time of the study. A recent visit found people still living in the mill housing.

About 85% of the total radioactivity in uranium ore remains in the tailings. The DOE report says that the tailings have blown as far as one mile from the site.

Benn Benally of the Navajo Environmental Protection Commission says the tribe is waiting for federal money to clean up the radioactive hazard.

Bury My ...

Uranium mining brings a new peril to the reservation

by Tom Barry

Betty Yazzie, a forty-eight-year-old Navajo Indian, keeps two Social Security cards in her wallet. The cards belonged to her first and second husbands, Kee Yazzie and Robert Yazzie. Both men worked as uranium miners. Both died of lung cancer.

"It's been real hard without a husband," says Betty Yazzie in Navajo. "Hard for me to manage alone, to pay the bills, to haul the water, to chop the wood." She receives a small monthly Social Security check, but it is not enough to pay the bills and feed her children.

For five years, Bettie Yazzie has been trying, in the courts and through appeals to politicians, to get workmen's compensation for her husbands' occupational deaths. She believes the companies that employed her two husbands in their death-dealing jobs should be responsible for helping her.

But Betty Yazzie, the twenty-five other Navajo widows of uranium miners, and the many retired miners now dying of cancer in the hills of Red Rock, Arizona, have been ignored by the state and Federal governments as well as by the uranium companies.

The miners who have died and are dying of cancer in the northern tip of the vast Navajo Nation, largest reservation in the United States, are victims of uranium mining – the first step in the nuclear fuel cycle. Potential ecological catastrophe from nuclear reactors threatens the future of many Americans, and in the last few years an anti-nuclear movement has risen to block that threat. But sickness, death, and destruction caused at the front end of nuclear energy development is already a reality, and the Indians of the Southwest are among the first to face it.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), trustee for the Navajos, has leased their land for uranium mining without regard for adverse environmental effects, royalty rates, or social and economic impact. Uranium mines and mills are pushing Navajos off their land. Strangers are invading their towns. The radioactive air and water pollution are threatening their livestock and the health of their entire communities.

Huge piles of radioactive uranium tailings – a total of ten million tons in four separate sites on the Navajo Nation – lie unattended less than a stone's throw from Navajo homes. In fact, many communities – never warned of the dangers of the wastes – have constructed their hogans (homes) and their schools from the gray, cement-like, radioactive material.

Oscar Sloan, a former miner living in an isolated community near Monument Valley, Arizona, says that "all the people here have used the uranium wastes to build our houses. The company never told us they were dangerous." Sloan recalls, "Some white men came here a couple of years ago, and said we shouldn't live in our houses. They said the Government would get us new houses because our homes are radioactive, but they never did. I don't want to live in this house any more, but I have no place else to stay, no place else to go."

Former miner Tony Yazzie and his family live in a house in Monument Valley built from the fine grain wastes that piled up in a gray mountain less that seventy-five yards from his house. "I heard the tailings are dangerous," says Yazzie. "It blows all over my land. We try to keep the dust and sand out of our house."

Indians in this uranium-rich region are beginning to object to the practices of the energy companies and the Federal agencies which so carelessly opened up the reservations to uranium development.

Lucy Lorenzo is a Laguna Indian whose Pueblo community has been all but swallowed by the sprawling

" LUNG CANCER WAS FORMERLY A RARE DISEASE AMONG THE NAVAJOS BUT THE RATES OF LUNG CANCER HAVE SOARED . "

SOUTH WEST

Heart At Red Rock ...

Jackpile uranium mine owned by Anaconda. She says the blastings and the radioactive dust from the open pit mine have cast a shadow over her village.

"The companies bring outsiders – non-Indians – into the mines as bosses even though our men have worked in the mines longer," Lorenzo says. "More and more non-Indians are around the Pueblo, and now I think the uranium companies and the outsiders are ruling this place."

Paul Frye, a legal services attorney in Crownpoint, the heart of the Grants Uranium Belt in New Mexico, is representing Navajos who feel the BIA did not adequately inform them before leasing the land and approving mining operations.

"There's a whole lot of people out here that are bothered about what's going on and they want help with their complaints," Frye says. "All the BIA has been doing is brokering for the big companies."

Northwestern New Mexico is the largest uranium producing region in the world, supplying about half of the country's mined and milled uranium. About 47 per cent of that uranium comes from Indian land. As exploration continues on the Navajo Nation and the Rio Grande Pueblos, that percentage will rise.

In a 1976 report, the Department of Interior called this region "the hottest uranium exploration area in the United States." In northwestern New Mexico, close to three quarters of a million acres of Indian land are leased for uranium exploration and development.

Fourteen energy companies have holdings on Indian land in northwestern New Mexico: Continental Oil, Anaconda, Grace, Gulf Minerals, Homestake, Humble Oil, Hydro Nuclear, Kerr McGee, Mobil Oil, Pioneer Nuclear, Western Nuclear, Phillips Petroleum, Marathon Oil, and the world's largest corporation, Exxon. Exxon also has a 400,000 acre exploration lease in the area surrounding Red Rock.

On the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico, Anaconda established the Jackpile Mine in the early 1950s. In the amount of ore produced, the quantity of reserves, and the magnitude of operation, it is the largest open-pit uranium mine in the United States. In Laguna, as in the Red Rock area, Lucy Lorenzo and other residents are complaining about the dangers of uranium development and the lack of responsibility on the part of Federal agencies and the energy companies.

Farther north, in the Navajo Nation near the Four Corners area, Betty Yazzie and other Indians are demanding compensation for problems stemming from early uranium development. They see a new wave of uranium mining and milling overtaking them in the huge Exxon lease while they are still suffering from the energy boom of the late 1940s.

Red Rock was one of the first spots where the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the post-war uranium companies began prospecting for the radioactive fuel. Like many of the other problems stemming from industrial and mineral development on the reservation, the misfortune of the Red Rock people had its origins in the community's poverty and lack of education. The Government and the energy companies were willing to take advantage of that underdevelopment.

In New Mexico, the nuclear story began with the 1945 Trinity Site Test, which confirmed the success of the atom bomb. Three years later, the newly formed AEC began authorizing purchases of uranium to stockpile for its nuclear weapons arsenal and providing incentives to mining companies to find high-grade uranium deposits. It was during this period that Kerr McGee opened several shallow mines near Red Rock and set up a mill to process the uranium ore in nearby Shiprock, New Mexico.

When the Mines' uranium supply was exhausted in 1968, they were abandoned, leaving contaminated build-up and more than seventy acres of uranium wastes. Also left behind were several hundred Navajo miners who had been exposed to deadly doses of radioactive gas and particulates.

Then, as now, the reservation offered a profitable opportunity for companies like Kerr McGee. On the reservation, there were no taxes, little regulation, and cheap labor. "The company came around and said there were mining jobs opening up, but they didn't tell us a thing about the dangers of uranium mining," former miner Terry Light recalls. "The labor came cheap back then. The white men really took advantage of the Navajos who needed jobs."

John H. Lee, who lives with his wife in a one-room unplastered home near the Red Rock area, worked as a miner for more than twenty years. He complains of spitting up blood and stabs of pains through his lungs – the signs of developing lung cancer. "I now feel sick all during the day so I just sit back in the chair and rest," Lee says, noting that he has seen most of his co-workers die. He has no doubt that this illness comes from his mining work.

"It made us sick to go into those mines," Lee remembers. "The white men sat outside the mines and pushed us Navajos into those dusty mines right after dynamiting."

"They chased us in there like we were slaves," recalls another miner. "I remember that it used to be so dusty that we were always spitting up black stuff and how when we went home we all had headaches from breathing all that contamination."

The major killer in uranium mines is the radioactive radon gas that escapes from the uranium ore. The dangers of radon have been known for at least fifty years, but the AEC refused to admit that danger was present in uranium mining for the first twenty years of nuclear energy development.

"Those mines had 100 times the levels of radioactivity allowed today," says LaVerne Husen, director of the Public Health Service in Shiprock. "They weren't really mines, just holes and tunnels dug outside into the cliffs. Inside the mines were like radiation chambers, off unmeasured and unregulated amounts of radon. The problem was that back in the 1950s nobody was riding herd on the companies. It was a get-rich scheme that took advantage of Navajo miners who didn't know what radioactivity was or anything about its hazards."

Husen says the two main problems caused by uranium mining were lung cancer and pulmonary fibrosis, where silica dust particles become embedded in lung tissue, eventually making it difficult to breathe.

"The lung cancer comes from breathing radon gas," Husen adds. "It stays in the lungs and continues emitting radiation – sort of like walking around with an atom bomb in your lungs."

Lung cancer was formerly a rare disease among Navajos. In a seven-year study completed in 1972, no cases of lung cancer were found in a review of 50,000 chest x-rays of Navajos. But the rates of lung cancer among Navajos have soared because of exposure to radiation. Dr. Gerald Buker reported in a monograph entitled "Uranium Mining and Lung Cancer Among Navajo Indians" that the risk of lung cancer increases by a factor of at least eighty-five among Navajo uranium miners.

"It's pretty hard here," comments Ray Joe, a former uranium miner in the Red Rock area. "It's like we have been having a war or something like that here – with so many of our men dead and dying or sick. And we don't get a thing from the companies."

"My husband has been disabled for six years," says Elsie Benally, "and we have never got compensation. We wonder what happened to the reports we made to Washington about our problem. We need funds to support our eight children."

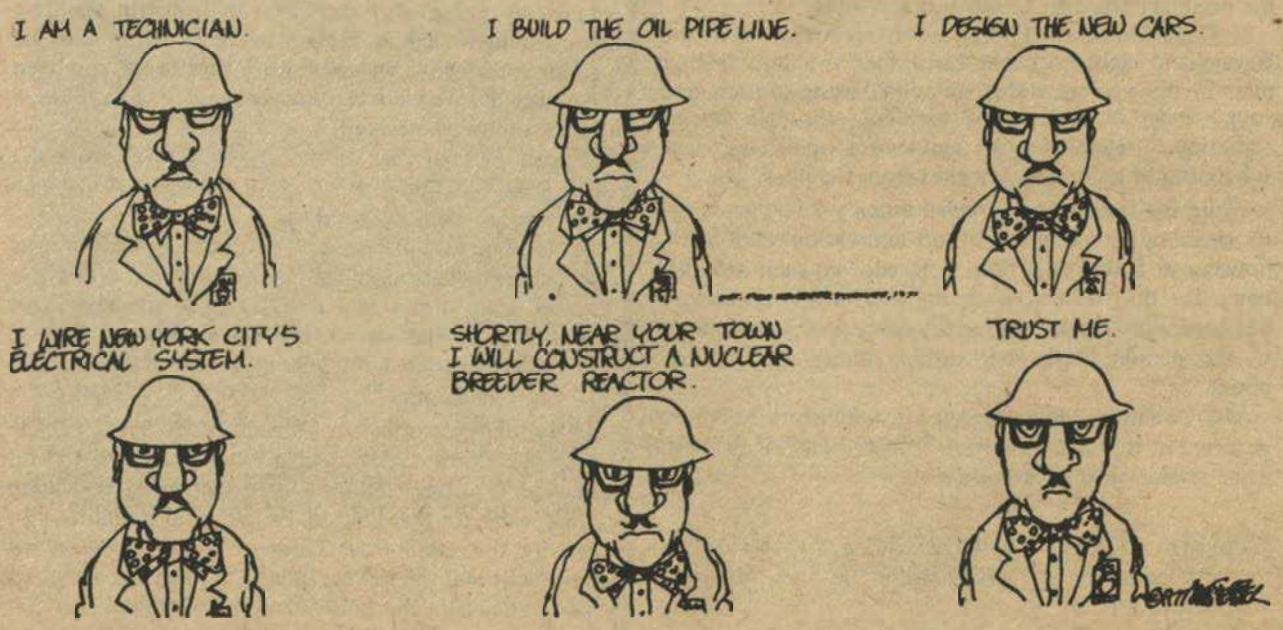
Red Rock residents have been trying since 1971 to obtain compensation for the tragic aftereffects of uranium mining. Harry Tome, Red Rock's representative to the Navajo Tribal Council, says he has become frustrated because of the lack of support his constituents received from the tribal council, state politicians, and state compensation boards.

New Mexico's Senator Pete Domenici introduced a Miner's Compensation Act last year, similar to the legislation providing benefits for coal miners afflicted by black-lung disease, but Tome doubts the measure will be passed. "The politicians listen to us," he says, "promise us things, but really never do anything."

Dr. Joseph Wagoner, director of epidemiological research at the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, (NIOSH), observes, "The deaths of these uranium miners present serious medical and ethical

CON'T ON NEXT PAGE

Feiffer


I AM A TECHNICIAN.
I BUILD THE OIL PIPE LINE.
I DESIGN THE NEW CARS.
I WIRE NEW YORK CITY'S ELECTRICAL SYSTEM.
SHORTLY, NEAR YOUR TOWN I WILL CONSTRUCT A NUCLEAR BREEDER REACTOR.
TRUST ME.

" WHERE THE URANIUM SLUG HAS BEEN DUMPED, CHILDREN WADE IN THE WATER BUT BREAK OUT IN SORES. "

questions about the responsibility – and the lack of response to that responsibility – of the Federal Government, which was the sole purchaser of uranium during the early uranium period." Wagoner, in studying the occupational hazards of uranium mining since the early 1960s, found that "far too many Navajos have needlessly died" of lung cancer.

When Congress created the AEC in 1946, the Commission's authority included the licensing of "source materials" containing uranium. The language of the AEC enabling act, however, stated that the AEC's power was limited to "source material after removal from its place of deposit in nature."

The AEC interpreted this to mean it would exert no control over the mining of uranium. Though the AEC was the sole purchaser of uranium in the United States from 1946 through the mid-1960s, the Commission willingly relinquished its authority to regulate uranium mining. It wasn't until 1972 that Federal radiation standards were inforced in the uranium mines.

The AEC's contention that it lacked information about the health problems of uranium miners has been challenged by physicians in the Public Health Service. "Ignorance is no excuse," says Dr. Victor Archer, who has been concerned with deaths of uranium miners since 1954, "because of the several reports from European uranium mines in which a high percentage of workers developed lung cancer prior to 1940."

In the new uranium boom, fueled not by the military but by the private nuclear power industry, the BIA and the United States Geological Survey (USGS) have routinely approved uranium leases and mining plans without preparing environmental impact statements or soliciting the opinions of area Navajos about the proposed development. The BIA in New Mexico has gone so far as to put land up for lease and approve mining plans without notifying the Navajo landowners.

Although its first responsibility is to protect Indian interests, the BIA has cited "the national energy shortage" as its prime consideration in approving mining plans and leases. Investigation into the BIA mineral leasing program has revealed that the BIA has frequently circumvented its own regulations. It has also failed to monitor the uranium leases or enforce their provisions for environmental safety and Indian employment preference.

"The cart came before the horse on the uranium projects," says Howard Zeutzius, BIA environmental officer for the Navajo area. "We didn't know all that was coming. The projects we approved were individually insignificant, but collectively significant."

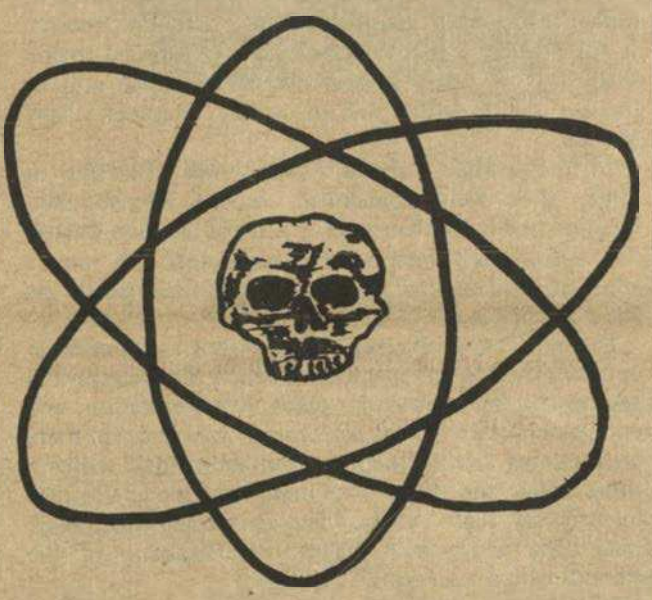
Harold Tso, director of the Navajo Environmental Protection Commission, comments that "the BIA had an idea it was coming, but they didn't know how big the elephant was. They looked at the foot and said it was not much of a creature. Then suddenly they saw the animal for as large as it really is, and started to realize there was a problem." A San Juan Basin Regional Uranium Study was begun by the BIA last year – about ten years too late – to examine the impact of uranium development on Indian land in northwestern New Mexico. Much of this land has already been committed by mining leases.

Fifteen uranium companies have expressed interest in mining uranium in the Crownpoint area. Some, like Phillips Petroleum, have already begun to haul the ore out of the underground shafts, and most plan to begin operations by 1980. According to environmental impact studies done on this new "hot" uranium boom, the population of Crownpoint will soar to 15,000 in five to ten years – a 500 per cent increase. And according to the Geological Survey, the new uranium mines will seriously deplete the area's water supply.

Ben Lorenzo, a former governor of the Laguna Pueblo, sitting in his kitchen immediately after one of the routine explosions at the enormous Jackpile Mine, says, "I have many complaints about anaconda and their mine here. When they blast, sometimes two or three times a day, the dust goes all over the village. And you can go around and see the walls and windows broken by the blasts. Anaconda has promised to do something, but never does."

Speaking slowly, angrily, the old governor continues, "We have lived here for many years, and a lot has changed. I used to be able to breathe here, but I now can breathe better when I'm somewhere else. My son works in the mines and he doesn't look so good. And there is no doctor to check up on the miners. They're sure to give them a physical checkup before they hire the men, but they don't have any doctors to take care of them after they're working."

Frank Aragon, an Anaconda employe, also objects to the blasting, adding that "sometimes you can even smell the nitrates they use for the explosions. We don't know what it's doing to our health, especially to our kids and later on their babies."



The Department of Energy has estimated that it will cost $20 million to clean up the ten million tons of radioactive mess left on the Navajo reservation by Kerr McGee and other companies. So far the funds have not been forthcoming.

Because of their proximity to Navajo communities, the radioactive tailing piles are a serious threat to the health of the Navajos. For the last ten years, wind and water erosion have spread the radioactivity far outside the original perimeter of the uranium mills.

A Department of Energy study reported that the Navajo and eighteen other abandoned uranium tailings piles in the western states are contributing to increased lung cancer among nearby residents through gamma radiation, ingestion of radioactive particles, and inhalation of radon gas that rises from the piles.

While the Government moved quickly a few years ago to clean up the scandal of off-reservation radioactive housing in Grand Junction, Colorado, no such help has come for the Navajos. Even the anti-nuclear movement has been slow in challenging the dangers of radioactivity to the people living and working under the uranium boom.

Like countless other tragedies in the history of Native Americans, this one remains lost in the dust of the vast, dry stretches of the reservations.

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And Now :

The meeting was to take place at the Lakota Treaty Council office but an elder had died and most of the chiefs and headmen of the Lakota Nation had gone down to bury him. Larry Red Shirt met us at the door. "let's go to my house and get some soup." he said. "People will be stopping by and then we'll meet."

The group had driven down in a three car caravan and into the reservation from Rapid City and some of them were a little nervous yet. They were whites -- blonde and light-eyes-- and they looked obvious and somewhat out of place among the dark long-hair and burrowed faces of the old, traditional people at Pine Ridge.

South Dakota is not a state particularly known for the love between whites and Indians. There is a suspicion and a fear and in some cases a hatred that spans a dozen decades. The very presence of a white in a group of Indians is to be reminded of the overlapping miseries which that contact has wrought and it is not infrequent yet that Indians among whites or whites among Indians suddenly find themselves surrounded by hostility and the beatings and the stabings and the shootings -- the constant assaults and mutilations--they spin off each other like sparks in a rotor and the cycle of violence seems endless.

This day Larry Red Shirt made everyone confortable. Inside his house some women were cooking and slowly people came in and sat around, lining the walls. Larry presented these visitors to the chiefs.

"These white people that have come among us today," he said. "They are part of an organization of people who are concerned about problems that are being created in our environment. This organization is called the Black Hills Alliance."

Then he turned around.

"Over here, these men are some of our traditional chiefs," he told the white people. "These are some of the men who make up the Lakota Treaty Council, which to us is the real legitimate government of the Lakota People.

People nodded and some shook hands. Then Larry went on. He told the group some of the history of the Lakota Nation, how they had come to end up in Pine Ridge Reservation and about the various attempts by the United States government to deny the validity of the traditional chiefs. "It has all been a way to repress our religion," he said.

Louis Bad Wound, one of the Chiefs, spoke next. He is an older man.

"We are happy that you have come here." he said. "In our way, we are told that we are responsible for all forms of life. It makes us glad to see groups of your people expressing also this kind of concern. We have often thought about trying to make this kind of meeting, to see how we could work together. It has been very difficult. We were cautious because we didn't know how we would be received."

People nodded. One of the representatives from the Black Hills Alliance asked to speak. He was a young man in his thirites. He now stood up.

"It is difficult," he said. "It has been hard for us also--because we too didn't know how we would be received. Many times we have thought to come here and meet like this-- but we too have been cautious. So it is very difficult for me to fully express how glad I feel that this is happening."

The young man spoke for a while. People listened. He had been a South Dakotan all his life, he said, born and raised in the Black Hills--which he understood were sacred lands to the Lakota People--and guaranteed to them by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty between his government and the Lakota chiefs. "This is something of which I am aware and understand. I understand also that

" THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY IS CLEARLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF LARGE CORPORATIONS WHICH MAKE LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY."

SOUTH DAKOTA

Uranium In The Black Hills

I am a white man," he said, "a newcomer to this land. This is something that is very difficult for many people to understand. But it is, in my estimation, the only proper way of looking at it. That is why it was so important, before we go on to do the work that we must do, that we should meet with your traditional government and explain the very dangerous situation now facing us.

"I love the Black Hills," he went on. "I think they represent more than just a mountain range. To me, they are the heart of this whole part of the world. We would like to share with you some of the information we have come across about the emminent destruction of that sacred area and probably also of this whole region. We would like to work toward forming an alliance with you and see how we could put our efforts together so that our children's future will be insured and that maybe they can grow up without the kind of suspicion and violence that has kept us divided all these years."

The young man sat down. Everyone was silent. Then another one of the chiefs cleared his throat. He sat up, holding his cane.

"It is something we have wanted," he said. "We are glad that you are here. This is good."

About sixty miles from Pine Ridge, on the foothills of the Black Hills is a little town called Edgemont. There is a lot of activity in Edgemont these days. Houses which were unsaleable only a couple of years ago are now being snapped up as soon as the "for sale" signs appear and they are commanding unheard-of prices. There are new trailer courts opening in Edgemont, and city officials are worried that the new influx of people coming into town will overburden everything from the existing high school to the sewage system.

There is another kind of worry, however, that local residents in Edgemont and the surrounding Black Hills area are undergoing. The new economic activity being felt there is a direct result of the uranium mining that is about to begin in the region.

Uranium mining--the front end of the nuclear fuel cycle--an activity that has consistently had adverse

health effects for anyone involved in any part of its process.

In the early 1950's, a lawyer from Rapid City in search for Indian artifacts accidently discovered the existance of uranium in the area around Edgemont. Several corporations, including Union Carbide and the Tennessee Valley Authority explored the area and ran mining operations until 1972, when it became financially unprofitable. The results of that particular phase of mining are still palpable.

"For Edgemont and for the surrounding Black Hills area, the new spur of economic activity as a result of the mining has to be viewed very carefully," according to Bruce Ellison, a attorney for the Black Hills Alliance. "The previous mining already produced radioactivity in the community's water supply far above the 'safe' limits, and run-off from the blowing dust from the old mill tailings radioactively contaminated the streams and surrounding lands. Renewed uranium development in this area can only produce worse damage, irreparable damage."

The recent national fear of "energy shortages" and President Carter's energy policy-- which projects 200 nuclear reactors for "peaceful purposes" as well as the development of the neutron bomb in the nuclear arms proliferation race, have made uranium a new cornerstone in America's energy plan.

Uranium mining has become more profitable and for the Black Hills area, a new king of Twentieth Century Gold Rush.

There is only one problem with uranium mining: it causes cancer; Already, studies conducted in Fall River County, where Edgemont is located have shown a cancer rate twice that of any other county in South Dakota. There are many who would concurr that the degree of radioactive contamination has something to do with it.

Vonnie Kallemeyn, a biologist with the South Dakota Department of Environmental Protection, took a geiger counter to Edgemont last year. "The ticking went wild," she says. "It was scary being in that place and seeing that happen. I wouldn't feel sale living there. I wouldn't even drink the water there."

When the uranium ore is mined, it is separated from other minerals and compacted. The compacted uranium is called "yellowcake." This process leaves behind what are called uranium tailings. About 85% of uranium tailings, however, have been shown to be as radioactive as the "yellowcake."

There is a pile of uranium tailings still leftover at Edgemont from the last mining time. It is next to be Cheyenne River and water runs off of it into the river. There are tailings also nearby, in Cottonwood Community, where nobody every saw fit to tell people that they should keep their kids away from it.

Several weeks ago, people from Pine Ridge invited Dr. Judity Johnsrud, a noted chemist and nuclear power researcher to come out and assess the situation. According to Dr. Johnsrud, the kind of uranium ore to be found around the Black Hills produces an extraordinary amount of tailings per pound of yellowcake. "Mill tailings are the major and most difficult form of radioactive wastes that now exist," Dr. Johnsrud said. "And here the yield for just a few pounds of uranium is a ton of tailings."

Much of the tailings are in the form of fine sand, easily blown by the wind. Also, they result in small but persistent force of radon gas, said Dr. Johnsrud.

Radon gas is one of the decay products of uranium. When inhaled it can cause lung cancer. According to officials from the United Mine Workers 80-90% of uranium miners can expect to die of future lung cancer.

There are several large, multinational energy-developing corporations that have been circling the uranium in the Black Hills. Two of them, Union Carbide Corporation and the Tennessee Valley Authority, have staked out large claims.

There are nearly one million acres under exploration for uranium in the Black Hills area, with over 100,000 already staked out in claims. The deposits apparently lie in a crescent-shaped formation which circles around the eastern edge of the Hills from Edgemont in the south and as far as the North-western corner of South Dakota.

"This whole area is slated for destruction. It is all planned. We are in a 'national sacrifice area,'" Ted Means, an American Indian Movement organizer said one night. "This is something we've been saying for years. But the political climate in this state and the racial fear--it has kept many whites from listening to what we had to say. You know, we've been portrayed as a bunch of crazy, violent prone militants-but that's now right--because my basic concern is for my children, same as yours and don't let anyone tell you that isn't so."

He was speaking at a meeting of the Black Hills Energy Coalition, as a group of South Dakotans concerned over the Uranium mining in the Hills. An older, white-haired woman stood up. She was arancher's wife, "I have never been in a room with an A.I.M. member before," she said. "But I agree with what you are saying and I don't believe in merely regulating the mining either – I want to see it stop. And if it takes getting out there and taking my gun out there – by God I'm gonna do it!"

The uranium development planned for the Black Hills would come in the form of strip- mining, deep-mining and solution mining--sometimes called "earth enemas." In the northern counties, much of the uranium is in coa. The coal would be stripmined and probably burned to an ash, which would be milled for uranium. This burning process produces radioactive gas and dust.

Solution mining or "earth enemas" requires pumping chemicals into the aquafir and desolving the uranium from the sandstone and trying to pump it all back out. But there are many undertainties about the effects of the chemicals on the water and whether they can be sure of recovering all the radioactive materials dissolved out of the rock so that it won't migrate in the aquifer and get into the wells.

The plan that the Tenessee Valley Authority has put forth calls for five major pit mines, three of which will need water diverted from the Cheyenne River and pumped back in. How the TVA plans to de-contaminate that water is something that has yet to be explained.

"We haven't been able yet to ascertain all that these companies have in store for our area," attorney Bruce Ellison told people at that same meeting. "But we know it is big –real big. And the way it all ties together--the coal slurry pipelines (coal dust combined with water through pipelines for distant delivery), the depletion of the water tables by the 73 coal-fired gasification plants and now the total contamination of our water and air by not just coal pollution but by actual radioactive poison – it spells the end of our economy as we know it."

The whole Northern Plains Region surrounding the Black Hills has been called a "national sacrifice area." Coal strip mining and other uranium mines further out in Wyoming and Colorado have already taken their toll--not only in the devastation of the environment but also in the social diseases of boom-town life.

For the Indian people in the area and for the Lakota specifically, however, the destruction of the Black Hills country spells the end of their history as a nation.

"It's all together now," said one young man in Pine

CON'T ON NEXT PAGE

Ridge. "I never thought I would see the day when we had a common interest or goal with the local white people. Our fight with the over-all white population has always been as intense as with their government. Realistically, they are the cause of our misery. They are the ones who steal our land. They brought us all the social diseases–which they complain about now in the boom-towns–the alcohol, the child neglect, all of that. I mean we have alot to overlook and forget and we should, because if we don't ain't anything going to survive here at all."

It was evening and the tribal council was meeting in Pine Ridge Village. Pine Ridge is the government center of the reservation--the authority created by the United States through the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. Most people at Pine Ridge didn't vote in the elections that formulated IRA government then, and even now, only 8 to 10 percent participate in it.

The elected council was seated. It was in a large room that looks amost like a gym. The room was full of other people as well--people who didn't necessarily believe in the tribal council way but who wanted to hear what was going on. This evening, the representatives from both the Lakota Treaty Council and the American Indian Movement were also present. Larry Red Shirt was addressing the elected council meeting on behalf of the Lakota Treaty Council.

He was talking about the Black Hills Claim Commission, about the attempt by the U.S. government to settle with the Lakota Nation for the theft of the Black Hills. He was against the settlement. He was urging the elected council against any money settlement because that would mean giving up the land.

The elected officials listened but it was obvious that most of them did not want to hear it. The tribal chairman sat opposite Red Shirt. He kept looking down and doodling with his pencil.

Larry talked about the mining the, and about what it meant to be lakota. "I know that many of you have been involved in this so-called blood quantum issue," he said, "trying to define how much Indian blood people here have. But let me ask you this: Who is more Indian–the one who stands up for his people, regardless of his blood count or the one who sells out his people? At the Lakota Treaty Council we talk about it a different way– we wonder who is more traditional, NOW and who wants to defend the tradition. That is what we look for, that is what defines for us who is Indian."

Ted Means spoke next. He spoke on behalf of the American Indian Movement, and he spoke in support of a resolution that Larry Red Shirt had introduced. The resolution called for a commission composed of elected council, Lakota Treaty Council and American Indian Movement members that would study the energy development situation and its impact on the Lakota Nation.

"I hope you will consider this carefully, he said, "because our people have a right to know what is about to happen to them. I hope that you can see this as an effort on our part to work together, to put aside our petty differences, because in ten years, when the sulphuric acid and the radioactive contamination rains down on all our children–in ten years time, it will be too late."

And - Skagit Nuclear Plant

by Andy Fernando

Lawrence Boome Sr. fishes for salmon on the Skagit River in his small wooden boat where for many years before him his late father, Charlie Boome, fished too. Like his father, Lawrence Boome is now the chairman of the Upper Skagit Indian Tribe in Northwest Washington.

For more than fifty years – a dozen cycles – Lawrence Boome has watched the great schools of Skagit salmon retrun from the sea to lay their eggs in the river and eventually die.

For more than fifty years, the Skagit Indian people and all tribes in Western Washington have fought to regain those salmon fishing rights they thought were guaranteed by treaties drafted in 1854 and 1855. Even now the battles are waged in courtrooms and hearing rooms by lawyers, and on the ancestral fishing grounds in rivers and bays by fishermen with sidearms, rifles and angry gestures.

But now Lawrence Boome, and the more than 200 fishermen of the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle Tribes and the Swinomish Tribal Community, face a danger on the Skagit unlike any they have known before. As they set their salmon gillnets in the swift and turbulent Skagit River, the fishermen are aware they work just a stone's throw from the site of a proposed nuclear power generating plant.

The three tribes are remnants of the eleven Indian bands which once lived and fished along the length of the Skagit River and its tributaries.

Today some of the tribes' members are scattered throughout Washington and the rest of the country, but the majority of their 2,000 members still live in the Skagit Valley. Most Swinomish members live on their reservation near LaConner. Members of the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle Tribes are dispursed throughout the Skagit region since neither have a reservation.

Most directly affected by the nuclear project is the Upper Skagit Tribe. The proposed plant would lie in the heart of that tribe's ancestral grounds, near the town of Sedro Woolley. More than half of the Upper Skagits live within twenty miles of the project.

Although people in the Skagit Valley recognize and accept the present and historical significance of the tribes' presence in the valley, the project applicant, the state and the federal agencies have almost ignored their existence in reference to the nuclear project. Environmental impact statements call potential damage to tribal people and to the salmon as "insignificant."

"The language in the EIS is very degrading," said Lawrence Boome. "It says things like, "No one fishes the salmon commercially in the river – except Indians.'

"It makes us seem like second-class citizens."

Actually, the tribes feel the project will have great impact on the health and welfare of the Skagit Indian people and to the salmon.

Puget Sound Power and Light, a Seattle-based private utility, is the prime sponsor of the nuclear project. It has claimed that health impacts from the nuclear project will have no impact on the "average population."

However, the average population Puget Power speaks of moves regularly and intermarries throughout the population, said Russell Busch, attorney for the Skagit tribes. Skagit Indian people have lived in the Skagit Valley for centuries and may continue to in the future. Also, he explained, they tend to intermarry with other members of their tribe or neighboring tribes.

Sister Rosalie Bertells, a cancer researcher at the Roswell Park Institute in Buffalo, New York, has found serious relationships between exposure to low-level radiation near nuclear plants and diseases such as asthma, allergies, and lukemia in children. Radiation also seems to hasten the aging process.

Those impacts are found in the "average population," with a very fluid gene pool. The tribes are concerned that genetic damage could increase in a population which has a relatively "closed" gene pool such as the Skagit Indian people. The damage could emerge in recessive genetic diseases or defects. Sister Bertells has agreed to assist the tribes through testimony in Nuclear Regulatory Commission hearings.

Skagit salmon may feel the impacts of the nuclear project as much as the Indian people. A half-dozen salmon spawning creeks could be altered or dried by intake and release of the reactor cooling water. Puget Power has called these impacts "insignificant" also.

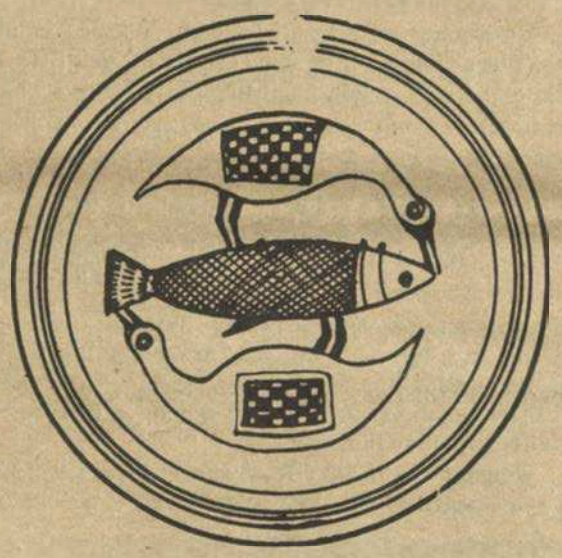
However, the tribal attorney points out that during the harvest seasons, three or four Skagit coho salmon are worth a week of groceries for a tribal family. The loss of a few thousand salmon could have a definite impact on the tribes.

Most of the Upper Skagit fishery occurs in the sixteen-mile impact area of the nuclear project. The Skagit, which is the sixth largest river system in the country also was named by Congress last year as part of the Wild and Scenic Rivers system, including most of the area affected by the nuclear project. Hundreds of bald eagles winter on the Skagit eating carcasses of spawned salmon.

Even those fish which spawn beyong the impact area must pass through it. Puget Power admits that zinc, copper, ammonia, and arsenic in levels toxic to salmon will be present in cooling water when released into the Skagit. No data exists on chemical effects to adult upstream migrant salmon and downstream migrating juvenile salmon.

Turbulence at the coolant release site and the increased water temperature may attract salmon, the tribes fear those salmon would be more susceptable to the increased levels of chemicals and radiation.

"There are several questions not yet addressed that



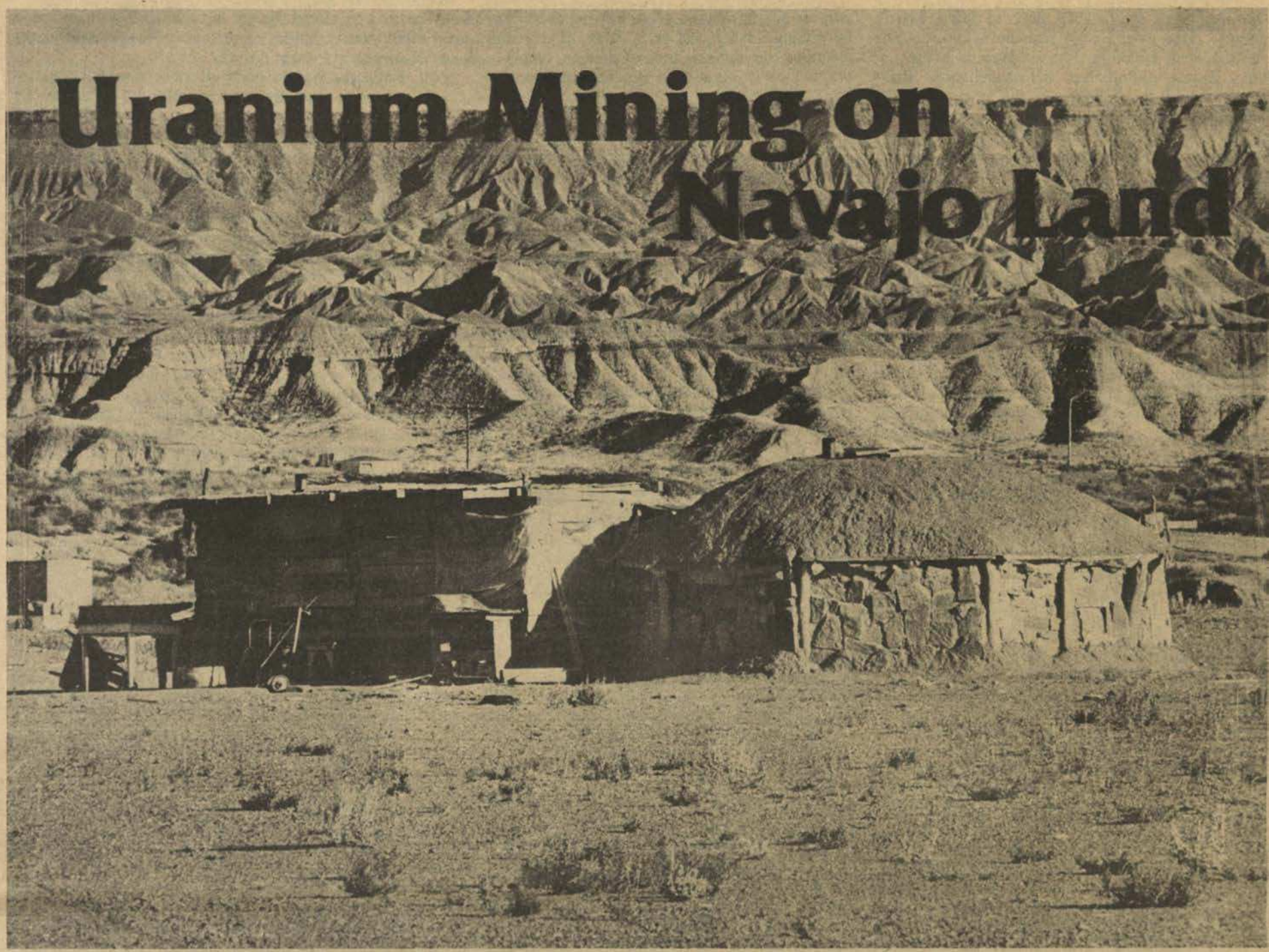
relate to the unique situation of the Skagit Indian people," according to Don Bread, director of the Skagit System Cooperative, "We are in urgent need of studies that will guarantee that no serious health hazards threaten the Indian people living and depending on the Skagit River."

Despite numberous setbacks, and the prospect that they might ultimately lose, the Skagit tribes continue to press their issues. They face stiff opposition, such as Washington Governor Dixy Lee Ray and U.S. Senator Henry Jackson, both strong nuclear advocates. Yet the tribes are receiving some valuable help, from experts in the nuclear field such as Sister Bertells and Drs. Ruth Weiner and Lynn Robins of Huxley College in Bellingham, Washington. Local groups such as Skagitonians Concerned About Nuclear Power also are questioning the nuclear project on grounds of earthquake date and radiation.

The overriding impulse that drives the tribes is that they have lost so much of the wild character of the Skagit River to logging, farming, and dams up to this point. If they lose on the nuclear project, it may be their last chance to save what is left of theSkagit as they know it.

And for fishermen such as Lawrence Boome, as he sets his net in the Skagit as his fatheand grandfather once did, is more than ample justification to maintain the fight against this solitary nuclear project.

Uranium Mining on Navajo Land



by John A. Folk-Williams

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Mining is sometimes compared to warfare, and it is easy to see why. In the arid landscape of northwestern New Mexico, open pit and underground mines, and their accompanying generating plants and processing mills, have reorganized the lives of thousands of persons of the region formerly dedicated to farming and livestock raising. The land itself has been re-engineered, sometimes torn apart, and its waters pumped out of deep aquifers and contaminated. Coal and uranium comprise the new wealth of this region, and virtually every major energy company has at least a small stake in the exploration and extraction of these resources.

Though the technological processes of mining have become increasingly sophisticated, the basic acts retain their crude power. In open pit mining, the useless surface of the land is first blasted into ruble, then reshaped into bare mounds. Huge draglines scoop out the coal or uranium ore in room-size chunks and toss them into trucks whose wheels alone are eight feet in diamenter. Underground, where most uranium is found, the deep shafts blasted and drilled out of various strata of rock, fill with pure water stored for millions of years in sandstone and must be pumped dry around the clock, forcing to the surface and to waste billions of gallons of virtually unreplenishable supply.

Rooms are dug out of the rock, separated by massive pillars of ore, and slowly widened until the pillars themselves are taken and the ceilings collapse. Hauled to the surface, this ore, containing a few flecks of uranium compounds must be smashed to fine gravel so that the tiny amount of uranium can be leached out by acid solutions. The rest, containing fully 85% of the radioactivity, is thrown away in piles stored temporarily underwater. No one has yet figured out how to insure the permanent isolation of this ratioactive waste from the human environment.

When the decision to mine has been made, the process that is set in motion must be accepted in its totality. In a rural area, occupied by Navajo and Pueblo Indians predominantly, as is the case where the heaviest coal and uranium mining is now underway in New Mexico, the social aspect of this process is just as significant as the environmental. Mining requires its own army of workers and tends to draw on a mobile force of drillers, miners, heavy equipment operators, and engineers who are accustomed to following jobs around the country and the world, if need be. They require camps of mobile homes; they occupy dozens of motels; their children overcrowd local schools; they drink, brawl, divorce, and anger more than most Americans, according to a number of studies; and, above all, they have little time or patience to learn or care very much about the people and communities they enter.

But even if they were model citizens, the occupation of land once used for livestock or farming, the opening of new roads and the volume of heavy equipment traffic, the contamination and depletion of water supplies, the need to expand community facilities, and the fact of having to deal with an influx of a large number of new people in a rural setting, would have in any case a strongly disruptive effect on the lives of people long resident in the mining region.

When those people are Navajo Indians, whose own homeland has never before been penetrated in quite this way, the impacts are especially powerful.

II.

An elderly Navajo woman, living in the Crownpoint region of New Mexico, is troubled about a uranium mine planned for construction near her home. Speaking through an interpreter, she describes her feelings about this use of the land. Some years ago, she relates, her father and other men from her extended family went out from Navajo country into the world and saw what mining was like.

They saw oil and ores of various kinds being dug out of the ground, and they worked at mineral trades. But they remained troubled by what they had seen and, upon returning to their home, one of them had a disturbing dream. He imagined such minerals being found under Navajo land and the miners and drillers going after them by tearing up the ground. And after that, he imagined, the surface of the land would be turned to a gray or a black dust and would swirl aimlessly in the wind. And later a disease would be transmitted through that dust, and the Navajo homeland would be made unfit for people.

She had kept this picture in her mind for years and then learned that her land, alloted to her family decades before by the federal government, contained such minerals. She was offered a few thousand dollars if she would sign a lease with the Mobil Oil Corporation and was assured that no harm would be done to her land, that she could continue living there as long as she liked, and that the sheep and other livestock would not be endangered. But nothing else was explained. She was simply told that she could get the money by signing the paper. Mary Largo's husband and son-in-law were both dead, and it was hard for her, with the help of young girls in the family, to sustain the sheep herd and make ends meet. She needed money badly and so signed the paper as a way of making it possible for her to continue to live in her home.

Nothing happened for a few years, but then bulldozers began making roads across her grazing land and the drilling rigs appeared. The heavy blades of the bulldozers scraped away the sparse grass and sage, and trucks then splattered a cement-like substance, called bentonite, over the bare gouund. And these new roads went everywhere, with no regard to the sheep or the homes of the people. The portable derricks attached to the heavy drilling trucks were seen all over the landscape, plunging shafts two thousand feet below the surface.

One day a rig was set up next to Mary Largo's homestead. Like most Navajo households, this consists of several small buildings, two single-room houses, or hogans, corrals, outbuildings and shadehouses. Right next to one of the buildings in this compound, the drilling rig set to work. When she asked the workers how they could come so close to people's houses, she was simply told that she had already agreed to this and had no right to object.

But she did object. She went to the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, she went to the Mobil project manager, she went to every office she could think of. But the people were rude to her or had nothing to tell her. She felt like an old dog whose bark no one listened to. Yet a few months ago, she began to learn more about the mining plans. The lawyers at the federally funded DNA-People's Legal Services had become aware of the situation and were following closely all uranium proposals. They described to her and to other residents of the area the extent of proposed development.

After sinking some 5,000 test holes deep into the countryside, the companies holding the leases had developed plans for at least seven major underground mines, one of which was to be built within sight of Mary Largo's homestead. Each mine was to require some two hundred fifty employees and would necessitate the construction of massive headframes over the shaft sites, many miles of new roads, railroad spurs, new housing subdivisions for the workers, and a network of other buildings and new facilities. Further, the companies were to construct two new uranium mills for processing the ore, and these, aside from the buildings required for them, would create massive piles of tailings, the radioactive ore remnants left after the small percentage of uranium has been removed.

The mines and mills together would require the pumbing of hundreds of thousands of gallons of water each day from deep aquifers for a period of at least twenty years. Dozens of residents whose lands *were* the mining and milling sites began to be alarmed and held numerous meetings to find some way of getting control over the situation.

These Navajo people of the Crownpoint and Dalton Pass communities compared stories of their experiences so far with the drilling rig operators. Some told of livestock wells and springs turning up red water, of steers dying after drinking this substance, of sheep being caught in the bentonite spread for temporary road surfacing and exploding after consuming it, of fencing cut and destroyed, of land ruined by the bulldozers for roads or for the clearings in which the drill holes were dug, of erosion on the hillsides as roads were recklessly cut along the edges of the mesas, of trees killed for no purpose and left to rot, of sacred springs being smashed by drilling activity, and worst of all, of gravesites being disturbed, the remains, even of children, simply scooped into shallow graves at other sites and fenced in.

All this violence done to the land, the animals, the people, was only the beginning. The mining itself threatened actual displacement for many of the people. They searched among themselves for some answer to the problem. Petitions were written, resolutions passed, and DNA designated as attorney for those members of the community who felt most threatened by the mining. A movement had begun to let the customary life of the Navajo continue.

III.

The anger and bitterness of the residents of Crownpoint and Dalton Pass must come as a surprise to the officials of the corporations engaged in these ventures, Mobil, United Nuclear, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Pioneer Nuclear. The enviornmental impact statements prepared by these companies describe socioeconomic effects of the mining only in relation to what seem to them the important centers of human activity – the towns and cities. They fail to make more than passing reference to the rural Navajo whose way of life comprises the essence of Navajo culture. The corporate executives fly in and out of the area in small airplanes; the planners and engineers map the region, analyze the soils and rock strata, quantify the ground and surface waters, calculate the progressions of production, employment, profitability; the lawyers and managers satisfy the regulations, apply for the permits, meet the legal obligations. Each technician keeps in mind the narrow assignment that is his or hers to fulfill, and yet no one up or down the many chains of authority has any responsibility or legally defined requirement to consider how the people living in the leased areas are to survive.

The companies are required, though, to hold hearings and to record the comments of all members of the public who wish to respond to the printed statements about the impacts of the mining projects. From the point of view of Mobil, TVA and UNC, such a hearing is a good chance to demonstrate the extent of their resources, producing an expert to answer or anticipate any possible objection. It also gives corporate managers warnings of problems that may later lead to lawsuits.

It is not, however, a forum in which to debate the merits of the project. The assumption is that the project is to go forward and that the hearing is only one more formality to be dealt with on the way to that objective. So the companies produce dozens of their people. At a recent hearing in Crownpoint, most of the hundred or so persons in attendance at any one time were company employees or employees of some of the federal agencies sharing an interest in the mining.

From the Navajo point of view, a meeting held in Crownpoint is usually an occasion for full discussion of a problem and for a decision about its desirability. Such meetings will go on and on for hours, into the night if need be, until everyone had been heard. The people of the area expect that their opinions will count for something and that they will join with the others in reaching a consensus about the problems they share.

It was with that expectation that two members of the Crownpoint community, Thomas Johnson and Sarah McRae went to a recent hearing held by TVA and Mobil for the purpose of recording public comments about the draft version of their environmental impact statement. The lands on which Thomas Johnson and Sarah McRae live are part of the leased area, and they had been watching with increasing alarm the effect of the exploratory drilling.

They entered the old town hall of Crownpoint, a building used for little these days since construction of a newer facility nearby, and found within a crowd of white people and a handful of Navajo friends who had come for the same purpose. At the front of the ranks of folding chairs was a plain wooden desk and a speaker's lecturn. Seated at the desk was an attorney from Tennessee, a tall, young man in a drab suit whose gestures were few and controlled, whose eyes moved principally from papers before him to speakers at the lecturn to the clock on the wall at the rear of the room. His precise habits and manner gave him the character of someone who had been transformed into a function. He requested a five minute limitation on all comments and in a voice of recitation announced the purposes all were there to accomplish. A Navajo interpreter translated the comments.

Mr. Johnson and Mrs. McRae and their friends had to wait several hours before they could speak. Throughout the morning, the engineers presented the mining plans in simple outline. Each calmly read a few sentences from his script (they were all white men), then waited patiently for the translation. Each had a narrow assignment, one to discuss ground water, one the effects on land and air, one the method of constructing the underground shafts, and so on – each reassuring the audience that his operation was not only safe but part of a lucrative enterprise.

Frequent mention was made of the payroll and the scale of the operation. The manager of the project, a man named Caesar, who had more flare than most with his double-knits, wavy blond-white hair, and broad smile, strained for every gesture of goodwill at his disposal.

Next spoke another group of white men, the lawyers and environmentalists who challanged all the neat points of the company men, denounced the inadequacy of the impact statement, and implied the necessity for legal action if corrective steps were not taken. These were as passionate, unkempt, rushed and aggressive as their opponents were physically and verbally restrained. They spoke of air pollution, contamination and depletion of water supplies, the need to discuss this project in relation to the dozen others scheduled for the same region, mining health and safety issues, and the importance of preserving Navajo culture.

In their gestures and words was a powerful energy flowing from their sense of outrage and combativeness. They had a clear enemy – the organized, hierarchical phalanx of big business now present in a beautiful country and intent on ripping from it the deep radioactive treasures. They were grappling with the power and profit structures of multinational business and sensing vulnerable points in the defenses of the corporate giants. But they could say little about the nature of the Navajo culture they wanted to defend.

Almost last to speak were the few Navajo residents of the leased area who had been able to come to a meeting scheduled for a week day and during working hours. It was hard for Sarah McRae and Thomas Johnson to stand before a crowd of white managers, engineers and bureaucrats, limited as they were by the abrupt lawyer to five minutes, and to tell about the things that had been bothering them. Their anger had been building for some time, but it is simply not their way to let loose with sharp invective. They have a strong sense of courtesy and of appropriate behavior that censors emotional outbursts of that type unless conditions have driven them to a point of explosiveness. And so Sarah McRae spoke softly in Navajo for just a few moments and then had to rely on the halting translation into English of an interpreter from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Mrs. McRae expressed her worry about what might happen if there were failures in the elaborate systems for safety described by the engineers. She had in mind the wells that had already turned red when she asked about water use for livestock. All the drilling test holes that had penetrated underground aquifers were supposed to have been sealed carefully so that no leakage would be possible, yet damage to water had already been encountered. She asked if the companies would drill new wells for home water supplies, if they would pay damages for the losses of livestock. Above all, she wanted to know where the flow from the dewatering of the mines would go. There was not the slightest reply to her questions, merely a mechanical thank you from the attorney who, presumably, would later see to it that her remarks were "covered" in the final version of the impact statement.

Then Thomas Johnson came to the microphone. He began talking about life on the reservation when he was very young, about seventy years ago. At that time, he said, there were no people of the white race on Navajo land. But now they had come in great numbers and they were talking about uranium.

The Navajo had never been given any say about leasing the land needed for this uranium, and he felt it was important that the Navajo people get together with the non-Indian people so that they could talk over their problems and resolve them. He was thinking of the dry land where he tried to graze sheep and cattle – a land with perhaps seven or eight inches of rainfall per year – and he said: I see a lot of water being wasted, I see a lot of water being polluted, and I see the animals drinking this water and being killed by it. The people of these companies and the Navajo people must get together to think about these things and to solve the problems. We need to purify the waters.

IV

The Navajo speakers made little impression on mc of the audience at that hearing, but their few sentences contained powerful questions that can only be understood in relation to the land and the way of life that give rise to them.

The region around Crownpoint is the southern part of the San Juan Basin. a roughly circular land formation covering the northwest part of New Mexico and part of southwestern Colorado, perhaps one hundred fifty miles in diameter. It is bounded by mountains and uplifts on allsides: the La Plata and San Juan ranges to the north, the Chuska mountains on the Navajo Reservation to the west, the Zuni and San Mateo mountains on the south, and the San Pedro and the Jemez to the east. The San Juan River, a major tributary of the Colorado, flows along the northern part of the basin and provides water for a number of energy and irrigation projects.

Though the region was once fertile throughout and supported some of the largest Anasazi Indian settlements six to eight hundred years ago, most of it is now dry and treeless and is used as rangeland for sheep and cattle. In the southern part of the basin, perhaps one hundred miles square, there are no permanent streams, only an intricate system of intermittent rivers, washes and arroyos which channel the runoff from the heavy showers of the summer months or the spring snowmelt to ever larger courses ending in the San Juan River. Most of the water that runs into these dry streambeds soaks into the ground long before reaching the permanent flow of the San Juan.

Ownership of most of this basin remains with the Indians and the federal government. The eastern sector

of the immense Navajo Reservation, reaching westward to the Grand Canyon in Arizona and including the southeastern part of Utah, here embraces the western third of the San Juan Basin. And beyond the reservation border are extensive lands always occupied by the Navajo but which, because of non-Indian pressure during the first three decades of this century, were never added to the Navajo tribal land base. Instead, the federal government gave allotments to individual Navajo families from this part of the public domain, and later the Navajo Nation itself began purchasing sections of the area. Today, ownership of the heart of the San Juan Basin in New Mexico is divided among Navajo families, the tribal government, the State of New Mexico, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, and a relatively small number of private owners. This great range was bought, traded or seized by sections and quarter sections so that a map of the region presents the alternating squares of color that give the area its name of the Checkerboard Region.

The Navajo have never been aware of what lay beneath their homes and grazing lands until the energy companies came with leases to be signed. The Indian people wanted only water, pumped from aquifers a few hundred feet below the surface, although in recent years the large wells for Crownpoint have had to go even farther to a depth of two thousand feet. To sink a well that deep, one penetrates layer after layer of sandstone, mudstone, shale and claystone formed in different periods of the remote past.

Beginning with the earth's origins and working forward in a time scale in units of tens of millions of years, these layers were built one atop the other through the explosion of volcanos, the formation and withdrawal of whole seas, the actions of rivers, the collision of land masses, chemical changes in waters trapped at great depths and always the overwhelming pressures of the upper layers upon the lower.

Most of the uranium deposits of this region are found at a depth of two thousand feet in a band of sandstone saturated with pure water known as the Morrison Formation. It is the same stratum that provides Crownpoint with its drinking water. And to reach the Morrison, the drilling rigs of the uranium companies must also penetrate the Gallup Sandstone that provides water for Navajo livestock throughout this area. The thousands of exploration holes that have already perforated these aquifers are thought by the Navajo to be directly responsible for the reddening and poisoning of wells and springs.

For the Navajo, this region is a homeland as much of cultural as physical boundaries. After generations of observation and endurance, they have linked the significant forces in their lives with the mountains, winds, waters and earth they have come to know so well. As gifted anthropologists like Reichard and Witherspoon have explained, the Navajo embrace this world and the people about them in an elaborate set of kinship terms. These refer not merely to blood descent but to the relatedness of human to spiritual, of person to family and clan, of the people as a whole to a sustaining earth.

The bonds created by blood, by marriage, and by support extend the relationships of each individual to a complex network of persons and things. The land is a mother, sheep are a mother, even a husband can be called a mother because each of these provides support and nourishment and care. The Navajo must define the kinship bond among all persons they meet before they can become friendly and close. It is considered extremely rude to drop by a neighbor's house, for example, if there is no such relationship. The sense of propriety about human relationships is well developed and easily disturbed by outsiders. But because so many features of the natural world are understood in similar terms, it is just as easy for the mistreatment of land and livestock to provoke anger and consternation.

Government officials discovered how deep such feelings run when, forty years ago, they undertook a forcible reduction of livestock on the reservation, often by brutal mass slaughter of sheep, cattle and horses. To them it was a simple causal relationship at issue. The land was overgrazed and had to be restored through the elimination of herds. But for the Navajo, who then were much more dependent on livestock than they are now, the experience of stock reduction was as great a cultural shock as they had ever received from the white people. The actions of the whites violated the bonds of kinship that related the Navajo to the natural world and were considered simply inhuman.

The Navajo are both extremely practical and extremely poor in cash income. They have thus been willing to make many changes in their traditional ways of sustaining life in the rural areas. The wagon readily gave way to the pick-up truck, sheep are often replaced by the more profitable cattle, the produce of small farms has been exchanged for food stamps, most have accepted the desirability of modernized homes, and many persons seek better education for permanent employment in the wage labor system. Despite all these changes. the broad familial structure, the language and rural life remain the foundation of Navajo culture. It has always been the difficult to survive in the spare environment, there have always been angry disputes among families, especially over grazing lands, and there is little loyalty outside the family and clan structure, little concern for the abstraction of the Navajo Nation and only occasional understanding of what is happening to other Navajo communities in distant parts of the reservation. Yet this culture is still strong, still closely involved with the land, and still defended vigorously when threatened by new developments that seem to be out of control. The uranium companies cannot destroy land, trees, livestock and water without provoking deep anger and resentment

in the rural Navajo, for these things are closely related to the people, as closely as kin.

V.

In the past, the Navajo bands simply lived within their accepted boundaries as laid out by the spiritual people and had no means of collective representation. When the time came, however, to take minerals from this land, the United States insisted that there must be some governmental body capable of approving exploration and mining leases and so created one. The first tribal council met in the 1920s specifically to sign oil leases.

In the succeeding fifty years, the council expanded, its duties and powers were developed and codified, and its members made subject to an electoral process. Eventually, local districts known as chapters were developed, and these corresponded more closely to the traditional family and clan groupings. In the current era of large-scale federal grants and programs, the central tribal council and the administrative structure created by its chairman are responsible for tens of millions of dollars in grants and tribal income, control thousands of jobs, and are developing increasing sophistication about the use of tribal resources for new income possibilities.

Though the Navajo have adapted to the representative government that began as a federal imposition, the people have never resolved the tension between the wishes of the local communities and the growing power of the central administration. That tension is never more severe than when mineral development is at issue. Around the reservation lands, chapter after chapter is protesting tribal leases for uranium development, coal mining, and other energy proposals. The local communities want payment for past damages, control of or cancellation of present mining plans, and safeguards for the future, especially the authority to approve or reject projects threatening major disruptions to their way of living.

The reservation boundary bisects the uranium exploration area around Crownpoint. Within the reservation, the tribal council has full authority to negotiate leases, despite possible opposition from local residents. The Navajo government has leases with Pioneer Nuclear and with the partnership of United Nuclear and TVA in this area. East of the reservation boundary are the allotted lands, and here the partnership of Mobil and TVA concluded leases with dozens of individual allottees. The tribal government plays no direct role in those leases. The Dalton Pass Chapter residents, within the tribal leasing area, had no voice in the tribal agreements, while the Navajo allottees believe they were simply duped by the companies and the Bureau of Indian Affairs into signing their leases. Both groups are angry.

The people living in the Dalton Pass Chapter, where United Nuclear and TVA want to concentrate five mine shafts, have gone on record as being "totally and unalterably opposed to all uranium development within our boundaries." They believe their very lives as well as the continuation of their culture are at stake and have asked DNA-People's Legal Services to take any legal steps necessary to cancel the mining plans.

There is an important condition in all the leases which creates the possibility of avoiding any direct conflict between the tribal objectives of increasing income from mineral exploitation and the wishes of the local residents. It is the condition of time. The companies have ten years in which to produce uranium in paying quantities. Given the years of exploratory work and the years required to license, construct and open a new mine, it is possible that none of the lessees will be able to show production before the expiration of the initial ten year period. Thus, even without major litigation both the tribe and the allottees may have a second chance to get what they want.

The Navajo Nation planners and officials in Window Rock clearly have in mind a model of the kind of lease they will try to win. They will be satisfied if actions of DNA can create new negotiating possibilities, but it is doubtful that the tribe would be willing to forego mining altogether. The agreement concluded with Exxon for uranium exploration and mining in the area around Shiprock and Sanostee to the northwest of Crownpoint is one of the best any tribe has yet been able to negotiate. Instead of the few thousand dollars in bonus payments called for in the leases for the Crownpoint area, Exxon paid six million dollars to the tribe as an up-front bonus. It further committed itself to royalty rates from twelve to twenty-five percent of the value of the ore produced and added a number of environmental safeguards as well as employment preference for Navajos. Exxon will also permit the tribe to exchange its royalty interest for a partnership in the venture, and that is the first time the tribe has ever negotiated such a possibility.

The agreement is not perfect; it is hotly opposed by the residents of that mining region. But if the tribe wants to make money from uranium, it is clearly preferable to the give-away leases signed in the early 1970s for the Crownpoint region.

The tribe will probably elect the income, the people will want their way of life. The companies are probably willing to make a number of concessions as long as they get the uranium in the end. The Bureau of Indian Affairs does little but wait to be sued for breach of its trust responsibility for the management of Navajo lands. A central issue for the future stability of the Navajo Nation is the resolution of the tension between centralized decision-making and the need to protect the integrity of the rural way of life in the local communities.

One cannot underestimate or ignore that element of the Navajo Nation which sees the necessity for development of natural resources, even at the expense of the quality of rural life. Many of the Navajos who have become educated in the Non-Indian world, who dominate the tribal administration and who comprise a growing middle class in the federally supported public job sector on the reservation, believe strongly that the rural existence of Mary Largo and Thomas Johnson cannot be the model for the future survival of this Indian nation. With a rapidly expanding population, now at about 150,000, and an arid land base that cannot support the livestock already using it, many Navajo people believe the traditional economic activities are doomed and that only by developing a more urbanized and industrialized reservation can the people continue to live in their homeland. The tension between those advocating development for this reason and those wanting to retain a more traditional economic base is as fundamental an element in contemporary disputes as the argument over the centralization of power.

The DNA group enters this picture at an interesting moment. Its director, Peterson Zah, is a Navajo deeply sensitive to the problems of tribal government and one of the younger generation of leaders committed to restoring power to the local chapters. Zah and his staff should be instrumental in raising significant legal issues about the development of the projects, delaying their implementation and thus giving both the tribe and the allottees the time they need to consider their options and initiate new strategies for dealing with the energy companies. The legal issues are numerous, mostly related to failure to observe provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). Not only were environmental impact statements never prepared for the leasing of the lands, but statements have been thought unnecessary even for the development of the mines themselves, except in the two projects involving a federal agency (the TVA) as a partner. Further, even though the projects are close to one another and all impact a well-defined geological region, the federal agencies have ignored the necessity for a regional impact statement. The water rights of the allottees may be endangered by such large-scale mining activity, and it may be possible to compel the Secretary of the Interior, in his role as trustee for the Indians, to require less destructive mining methods. The law has been ingored broadly enough in

this situation to make litigation almost inevitable.

As DNA studies the legal strategies, it is also working with the allottees to help them organize collectively to deal, for whatever purpose they choose, with the energy companies. A cooperative structure of any sort would be a new departure and offers great promise for helping allottees have more control over their own affairs generally. They have a lot to learn and only a short time in which to understand the threat of uranium development before being forced to take decisive steps.

For the Navajo, as with many Indian nations, the debate over mineral development tends to settle on the tension between the central government and the local communities and to ignore some of the broader social implications of energy use. That does not mean that the larger issues are not present in the situation, simply that the Indian people tend to be preoccupied with their traditional opponents within the tribe or the BIA. The Navajo Nation government is counting too heavily on the revenues to be generated by its coal and uranium to stop development altogether. Other tribes that have thus far refused to mine their lands have done so mostly because they cannot tolerate the violence such change would create within their culture, not because they have joined the anti-nuclear movement or the environmentalists. So it is with the residents of Dalton Pass and Crownpoint. They are talking primarily about their homes, their sheep, their trees, and their water, rather than about a nuclear moratorium across the nation.

Nevertheless, the factors that concern the rest of the country are present at Crownpoint. The control of uranium development by the energy conglomerates, their ability to induce public agencies to help rather than challenge them, the focus on economic return to the exclusion of the human and social considerations, the dangers of radiation in the atmosphere, the water and the soil, the problem of disposal of the radioactive wastes of mining over long periods of time – all these factors dramatize the inability of the institutions of the Navajo Nation and of the United States to control the situation so that a balanced decision can be reached about the ultimate wisdom of the use of uranium. There is always urgency, always pressure, whether from market prices, national shortages, the intense competition for profit or tribal deficits. It is only to be hoped that the legal challenges soon to be mounted in the Crownpoint case can create conditions under which the people most directly affected by the development can make a real choice.

Some Navajo may decide to trade the use of their land for better financial terms if they believe their way of life will also be protected. But one hears strange things about the motivation behind such thoughts. There is often no automatic attraction to the conveniences money can buy for the Navajo residents around Crownpoint. As Elsie Peshlakai, a community organizer for DNA put it: "Our people sometimes feel that they should have these conveniences, the electricity, the running water and the other things, because they may not be here for very long. There are things in our ceremonies that suggest this, a dark time ahead. It's in the songs. If you really listen to those songs and really think about what they mean, you hear that. And so some of the people here think they should try these conveniences while they are available."

The Navajo probably have thought a lot about uranium and what it means, but not in terms that non-Indians are used to.

Navajos & Friends Of The Earth Sue To Stop All Uranium Actions!!

by Tom Barry

Ninety-two Navajos and one Acoma Indian have joined forcd with an international environmental group, Friends of The Earth, in a lawsuit aimed at stopping all uranium development in the nation until the federal government prepares environmental impact statements.

The defendants in the suit, filed December 22 in federal district court in Washington, D.C., are the Departments of Energy, Interior, and Agriculture; the Nuclear Regulatory Commission; the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Environmental Protection Agency.

The suit claimes these agencies made decisions to further the production of uranium yellowcake (uranium oxide) without preparation of adequate environmental impact statements, without adequate environmental planning, and without consideration of reasonable alternative actions.

"We're asking for a full review of uranium production before actions can occur," says Richard Hughes of DNA People's Legal Services, Inc., which is representing the Indians. DNA (which in Navajo means attorneys who contribute to the economic revitalization of the people) is a federally funded legal office serving poor people in the Navajo Nation and the surrounding area.

An attorney for the Interior Department, Tim Vollman, says the department has no comment at this time since he just received the complaint this week.

The suit was filed in Washington, D.C., because the Indians contend there is a national uranium policy that has never been reviewed by the public. NEPA calls for environmental impact statements for federal actions that significantly affect the environment.

To comply with NEPA, DNA says the federal government should prepare national, regional and site-specific impact statements for federal actions relating to uranium production. The regional statements should pertain to the San Juan Uranium Region in northwestern New Mexico and the Southern Powder River Basin Uranium Region in Wyoming. DNA demands that the federal government study appropriate alternatives to uranium production activities.

Presently operating mines and mills would also be affected, since the suit asks that federal agencies rescind and reconsider past actions that were taken without compliance with NEPA. Environmental Impact Statements are sometimes filed for individual mines or mills. Often long "environmental assessments" are prepared instead, but they don't meet NEPA requirements, the suit says.

Hughes says that in New Mexico, the federal government's involvement in uranium production is pervasive. About one-half of the uranium leases are on Indian land, with many other uranium leases on public lands managed by the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

Since 1970, in the San Juan Region alone, the BIA has approved 303 uranium leases, USGS has approved nine mining and reclamation plans, and BLM and BIA have approved several hundred rights-of-way – all without EISs, the suit alleges.

SETTING HARMONY

Nearly all the individual plaintiffs speak the Navajo language, live in the traditional way and adhere to Navajo cultural beliefs, the suit says. "The present and proposed uranium development in the region directly offends the cultural practices and religious beleifs of the Navajo," which include a "profound appreciation of the interrelationships among the various aspects of the natural world and of the importance of man's maintaining proper harmoney with that world," it says.

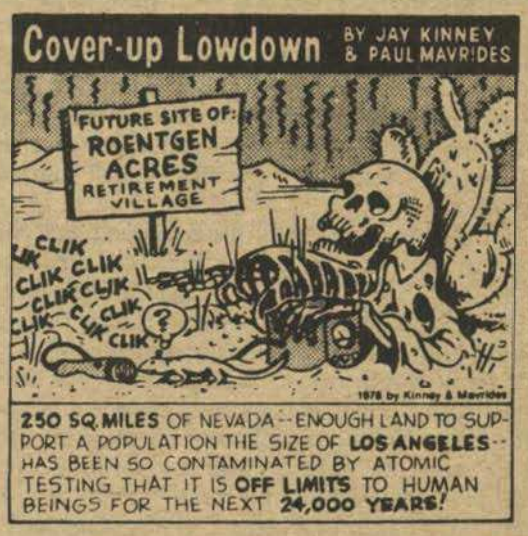
In addition, the uranium activity disrupts their livelihood. Although uranium production has not yet begun, the plaintiffs claim extensive exploration has already damaged much grazing land in the Crownpoint, N.M., area, and indirect mining effects may kill livestock.

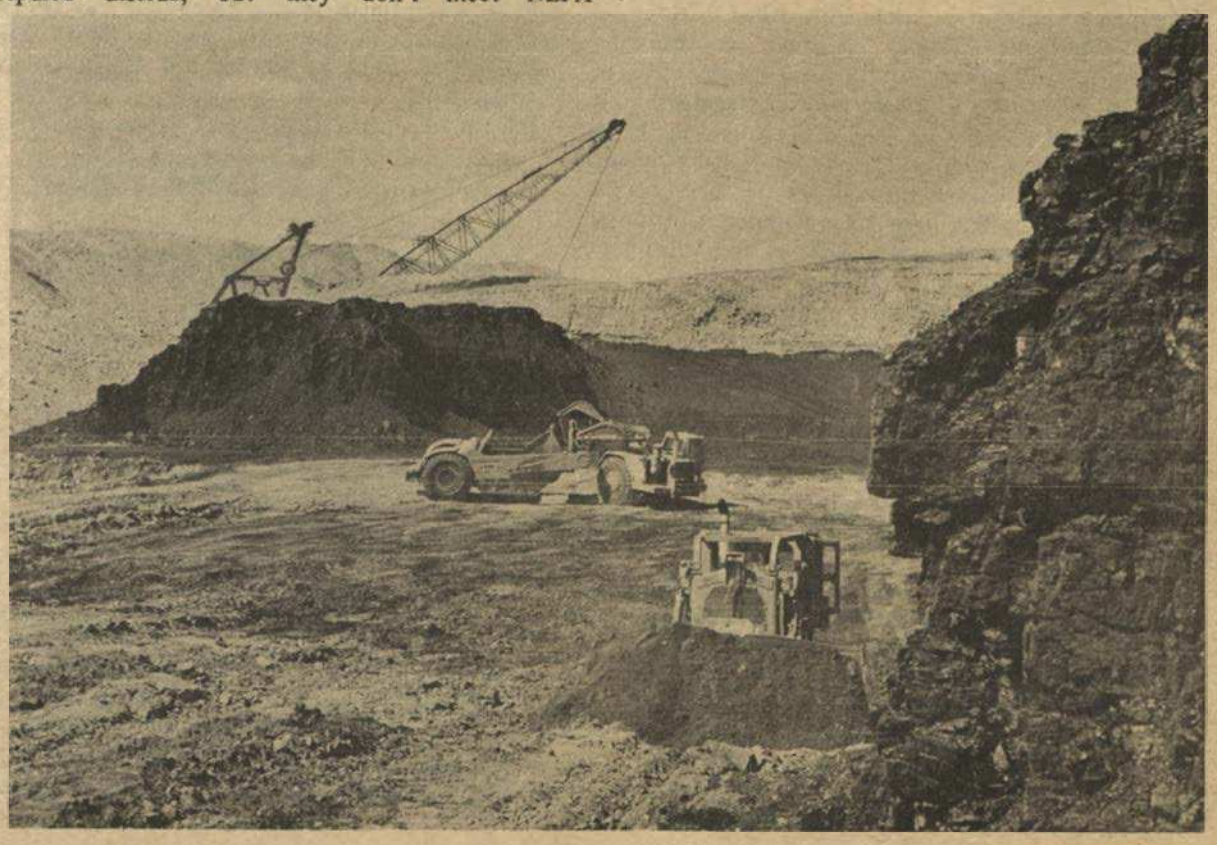
Mary C. Largo, one of the parties to the suit, says 20 exploration holess surround her home within 100 feet of her front door near Crownpoint. "There's no grazing here anymore because the company leveled all the land when they were exploring. Now I have to buy hay for my sheep," she says.

The company has promised to replant the cleared land, but so far the promise hasn't been fulfilled. When she went to the BIA office to ask what was happening, the BIA told her that mining would bring her money, she says. Another woman charges that her horses have died from drinking contaminated water.

The New Mexico Navajo Ranchers Association is concerned enough that it has signed on as one of the plaintiffs in the suit. In addition to the social and economic empacts cited in both New Mexico and Wyoming, the suit lists several specific air and water pollution problems that are expected or have already occurred.

"Exposure to ionizing radiation can produce serious biological effects," the suit alleges, "Including tissue dammage, cancer and genetic mutations. The production of yellowcake increases the exposure of uranium mining and milling workers and the public generally to dangerous radiation."


Cover-up Lowdown
BY JAY KINNEY & PAUL MAVRIDES
FUTURE SITE OF: ROENTGEN ACRES RETIREMENT VILLAGE
CLIK
1978 by Kinney & Mavrides
250 SQ. MILES OF NEVADA--ENOUGH LAND TO SUPPORT A POPULATION THE SIZE OF LOS ANGELES--HAS BEEN SO CONTAMINATED BY ATOMIC TESTING THAT IT IS OFF LIMITS TO HUMAN BEINGS FOR THE NEXT 24,000 YEARS!



DNA Director Peterson Zah says the aim of the suit is not to stop uranium development but to assure that in the future, people who are being affected will get information. The preparation of impact statements will guarantee public discussion of the development plans, he says.

Presently, he says, information is not pbeing provided. In the Navajo Nation, the communications problem is especially bad between the BIA and individual Indian landowners (allottees). People such as Mary Largo say they haven't ever been notified of the exploration permits approved by BIA for their land.

The Interior Department is preparing a draft San Juan Basin Regional Uranium Study to assess coumulative impacts of uranium development until the year 2000. Public meetings will be held on a draft of the study in the spring. However, Assistant Study Leader Robert Friedman says the study is not an environmental impact statement because "no federal action is contemplated." he says the study could be used in the future by people doing individual environmental statements so they can relate their project to the total impact.

Zah says the plaintiffs asked for a national EIS, too, because they recognize that the level of uranium development in areas such as Crownpoint is largely determined by federal policies set in Washington, D.C..

"Even though the impacts of nearby projects have to be looked at on a regional basis, you also have to look at the effect of national policies. That is whrere the alternatives to uranium development can be meaningfully considered," he says.

Will Pozzi, a spokesman for Friends of the Earth, says, "Ninety percent of total production (of uranium) is yet to occur. With about 40 percent of the $50-per-pound ore likely located on Native American land, there is a very serious need for comprehensive assessment for the Navajo here and all people everywhere of the real consequences of ruranium mining and milling."

In addition to DNA Legal Services attorneys Joseph Gmuca and Alan Taradash, the plaintiffs are represented by Bruce J. Terris and Norman Dean of Washington, D.C.; Richard W. Hughes of Albuquerque, N.M.; and Andrew Baldwin of Friends of the Earth.

Terris was one of the attorneys representing the Sierra Club in a similar suit in 1973 when it sued the interior Department demanding regional impact statements on coal development in the Northern Plains.

This artic sreprinted from the Jan. 12, 1979 edition of HIGH COUNTRY NEWS, an environmentally conscious newspaper published biweekly in Lander, Wyoming.)

HUPA-YUROK GOVERNMENT OVERTHROWN BY THE FEDS

by Steve Most

Sanfrancisco, Ca., (PNS) – Two days before Thanksgiving, scores of angry Hupas streamed into the chambers of their Tribal Business Council. They had just received a letter from Assistant Secretary of the Interior Forrest Gerard announcing that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has assumed control of tribal assets, government, and natural resources on the joint Hupa-Yurok reservation.

At stake was more than the economic and political future of the two tribes. Once the tribes are organized according to the BIA's plan, Gerard explained, the Interior Department will manage the natural resources of two of northern California's major watersheds.

These resources include timber, salmon, and the water of the Klamath and Trinity rivers. Since the forests are being logged out and the salmon population has declined precipitously, the water of these as yet wild rivers is seen as the motive behind Interior's plan.

The mountainous wilderness of the Klamath-Trinity watershed first attracted non-Indian interest during the Gold Rush when miners in search of yellow wealth washed hillsides into the rivers. Redwood and cedar forests, growing in the valleys and accessible slopes of the region, have built cities in the United States and Japan. Abundant rainfall – northwestern California receives 42% of the state's total – rushes down creeks and streams into the Klamath which reaches the ocean near the California-Oregon border. And up the river's mouth salmon return from circuiting the north Pacific to seek their spawning streams of origin.

The project to dam and divert the Klamath and Trinity dates back to a 1928 Army Corps of Engineers study which lamented "that in its present location the Klamath must ever continue to flow in large measure unused. and waste into the ocean."

A BIA version of these plans indicates a dam on the Klamath at Blue Creek on the reservation, and a Trinity reservoir which would require the flooding of Hupa Valley, the major part of the reservation. Renewed federal interest in this fifty-year-old water project stems from the pending expiration of California's lease for Colorado River water in 1982. Although less water will be available, the state population continues to grow, with housing settlements expanding onto the Mohave Desert.

Blocking the project is a California law, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, which forbids dams of the Klamath and Trinity downstream of the Irongate and Lewiston Dams. But the federal plan is long-range, requiring as a first step control over the traditional Yurok and Hupa who subsist on the resources of the watershed. To organize these tribes under the BIA, Interior has utilized judicial snafu, environmental warfare, and political manipulation.

The Yuroks are one of a few tribes in the United States which has never been subject to a BIA-run government. Governed through their families rather than by a federal bureaucracy, traditional Yuroks live upon the Klamath river in places inhabited by their ancestors for hundreds of generations.

Twenty years ago, Jesse Short, now an elderly woman, sued the United States on behalf of herself and other Yurok plaintiffs for a share of revenue from the sale of timber on the Hupa Valley Indian Reservation. The Yuroks won this suit in 1974 after a U.S. Supreme Court decision that Yuroks as well as Hupas are reservation members. The Supreme Court ruled that the 12 mile square-shaped Hupa Valley Reservation through which the Trinity River flows extends along the Klamath River to its mouth. This Yurok portion of the reservation forms a one-mile wide strip on both sides of the Klamath River.

With the Hupa Square and the Yurok Extension recognized as one reservation, Indian Court of Claims Judge Schwartz decided that Yuroks are entitled to a share of the timber revenues in question. Since Yuroks outnumber Hupas by approximately 70 to 80%, Schwartz ordered the BIA to hold 70% of this income in escrow for the Yurok plaintiffs. However, Schwartz could not decide which Yuroks should receive a share of this money. Never having been organized by the BIA, the Yuroks have no tribal roll specifying who is officially a Yurok.

Many Yuroks wanted to organize formally as a tribe in order to receive the Jesse Short money and participate in reservation government. But they feared that by creating an organization besides the Hupa Tribal Business Council, they would undercut the Supreme Court's ruling that both tribes belong to one reservation and perhaps lose their settlement money, which amounts to less than $5000 per person.

This double bind frustrated the Yuroks politically, angered the Hupas, who saw tribal assets taken from them through no fault of their own, and created such enmity between members of the two tribes that joint political organization seemed an impossibility.

The Jesse Short Snafu, which lasted for five years, took a new turn with Gerard's announcement to Yuroks and Hupas. He told them that the U.S., which lost the case, will keep the settlement money until the BIA forms "A Reservation-wide management and coordination body" to take charge of the natural resources of the Yurok-Hupa reservation. As a first step, Gerord told the Yuroks to organize a government along lines laid down by the BIA. The Jesse Short meney, explained a Justice Department lawyer to Judge Schwartz, "is a carrot in this over all scheme."

A RED HERRING

If the money was the carrot, the Salmon War was the stick.

The Salmon War was a military operation conducted by the Interior Department on the Klamath and Trinity rivers during the July to October run of King salmon. Its announced objective was to protect the declining salmon population.

Brining the arrest of Native fishermen and the confiscation of 100 gillnets, the Salmon WAr had the effect of undermining the tribes' ecological economy – a necessary condition for the BIA natural resource management plan to succeed. Only when Yurok and Hupa traditional people become economically dependent on the Bureau can Interior exercise sufficient control to take charge of the watershed's resources.

"The fist play an integral part of the Yurok and Hupa way of life," says John Corbett, Judge of the Klamath Court of Indian Offenses set up by the BIA shortly before the Salmon War began. The hundred confiscated gillnets, worth approximately $500 apiece, remain in Corbett's custody.

"It's inequitable to regulate Indians alone," Judge Corbett admits. "The Native Americans have done the least of anybody to create the (salmon shortage) problem."

Fish and Wildlife biologist Gary Rankle agrees that Indian gillnetting is the least cause of the drop in salmon size and number.

Devastation of the watershed by logging and roadbuilding is the major factor, Rankle says. Simpson Lumber Company, which harvests Klamath and Trinity forests, has been clearcutting without reforesting or taking effective steps to preserve the environment for future growth. People who work for Simpson have been told that logging on the reservation will end seven years from now.

Simpson's logging as if there were no tomorrow has ravaged the salmon habitat. Silt covers the fine gravel where salmon eggs must survive. Debris builds up in the streams. Some are so blocked that water seeps underground to the river, preventing fish from reaching their place of procreation.

In addition, Simpson planes spray the forests with an hermbicide which defoliates the logging area and poisons the rivers.

Offshore commercial fishing along the entire northwestern coast also threatens the Klamath River salmon's chances to regenerate their species. Salmon do not attain full weight until they return to their river of origin. Yet 70 to 90% of them are caught offshore, in Rankle's estimation.

"The only way to get more fish there in the short run is more control on the offshore fishery," concludes Fish & Wildlife biologist Jack McIntyre. But the political power of this industry is too great to counter, he explains. "We've got an impossible situation to live with."

Another major threat to salmon reproducti according to Rankle, is diversion of Klamath and Trinity river water at the Irongate and Lewiston dams which has increased water temperature beyond levels favorable to salmon. Fish and Wildlife biologists estimate that Native gillnet fishing accounts for less than 2% of the total catch. Sportsfishing on and along the rivers also takes a small toll on the number of salmon who escape their human predators to spawn. Yet during the July to October run, the Interior Department imposed a moratorium on fishing by Indians and sportsfishermen.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs issued four different sets of gillnet regulations. The first went into effect two days after publication. Copies were distributed to BIA officials and law enforcement personnel. Few reached the hands of the Native fishermen themselves who were subject to arrest for violating these changing decrees.

The result, as described by Del Norte County D.A. Bob Weir, "was a mess. It's lucky no one got killed."

Fish & Wildlife mounted a military operation in which agents using automatic weapons, flak jackets and buble helmets arrested Indians who were fishing and cut or confiscated their nets. This naval warfare, which cost the BIA at least a third of a million dollars, employed Fish & Wildlife enforcement agents, Humboldt and Del Norte County sheriff's deputies, and a special SWAT team of Indian police, some of whome had fought Oglalas at Wounded Knee.

John Sayre, Justice Department spokesman during the

HUPA-YUROK:

1975 occupation of Pine Ridge Reservation, acted as Information Officer during the river warfare.

"This is something I can't imagine being done to people in Korea, let alone to us. And here it is happening on our river," said Lavina Bowers, a Yurok. She displays a nightstick dropped during an attack on herself and her mother Geneva Mattz, 74. The Mattzes, whose family has lived on the estuary for centuries, had been on a boat wearing traditional dress in demonstration of their right to fish ceremonially.

On September 7, Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus came to Klamath. He refused to lift the gillnet fishing ban until the Yuroks organized a BIA-approved, self-regulating body. Many Yuroks felt that he seemed more interested in their forming a government than in the salmon run.

Renewed violence followed Andrus' visit. After an attack on Hupas fishing in the Trinity on September 12, the Hupa Tribal Business Council declared a state of emergency. Hupas blockaded the Square – their Hupa Valley portion of the reservation – and warned federal agents that their lives were in danger if they crossed.

The war, which ended with the salmon run, left in its wake angry feelings between Yuroks and Hupas who argued about whether they were defending the right to fish commercially or for subsistence; bitterness among sportsfishermen who felt that Indians had a special privilege to gillnet and that they were suffering for Natives' overfishing; divisions between Fish & Wildlife biologists and enforcement personnel; and hostility among Native people toward agents of the federal government.

Bob Weir complains that the Salmon War undermined efforts by Fish & Wildlife biologists and Native people to establish fish counting stations and plan hatcheries. He believes that Interior should have made an Environmental Impact Statement before taking action and emplies that an EIS would show that the military operation had a negative effect on the species' survival.

But if in fact the Salmon War was part of an Interior Department strategy to gain economic control over traditional Yuroks and Hupas as a step toward diverting the rivers on which they live, the operation succeeded. By undermining efforts to restore the salmon habitat, confiscating gillnets, and isolating Indians from sportsfishermen and local business people who share their interest in the life of the river, Interior paved the way, deliberately or not, for its plan, announced Thanksgiving week, to take over management of the watershed's natural resources.

HUMAN RGHTS

A Russian television crew, making a documentary about Native people and human rights, recorded the outrage and frustration of Hupas as, receiving their letters from Gerard, they joied the Tribal Business Council meeting.

"They've got the upper hand," said one councilman. "The BIA can do anything they damn please."

"That doesn't mean you're going to lay down," a woman shouted.

""They're going to start another war here," warned Joyce Croy, a traditional leader. Councilman Lyle Pohl remarked that the state of emergency, invoked by the Council during the Salmon War, remained in effect, and that Hupas might again blockade the Square.

The Russian camera had gone when one Hupa man denounced "this communistic takeover of our whole economy."

Since that explosive meeting Yuroks and Hupas, from the most assimilated to the most traditional, and without a visible exception, have opposed the Interior Department directive. "They're blackmailing everybody so they can assume control over the entire reservation," said Hupa Business Council Chairman Peter Masten. Masten called for the two tribes to get together and demand their aboriginal territory which includes the entire watershed of the Klamath-Trinity reservation region.

Serena Wins Half-a-Battle

PITTSBURGH' Pa. --Norman Jean Serena won half of her battle in U.S. District Court in Pittsburgh, Pa., in January. Mrs. Serena, a 41-year-old Creek-Shawnee woman, charged seven defendants with racial discrimination in conspiring to take away her children and coercing her into being sterilized in August, 1970.

A jury of four men and two women ruled that she wasn't sterilized against her will, as she had charged, but awarded Mrs. Serena $17,000 in compensatory and punitive damages because she had been misled by two welfare workers who had placed her three youngest children in foster homes.

"I'm sort of upset," Mrs Serena said of the verdict. "The sterilization should have been the main thing."

Mrs. Serena admitted that the signature on the sterilization consent forms was hers, but claimed she never knowingly authorized the operation and had no recollection of anyone explaining the procedure to her. She didn't learn she had been sterilized until a year later when she had a hysterectomy in another hospital.

Drs. Donald L. Carter and James L. Houston, who performed the surgery on the Oklahoma native in Citizens General Hospital of New Kensington Pa., testified that the consent form was dated the day after the operation. Carter suggested that the form had been misdated. He claimed that Mrs. Serena had signed a request for sterilization prior to the operation, but added that surgery probably wouldn't have been performed unless a signed, predated consent form was in the patient's file.

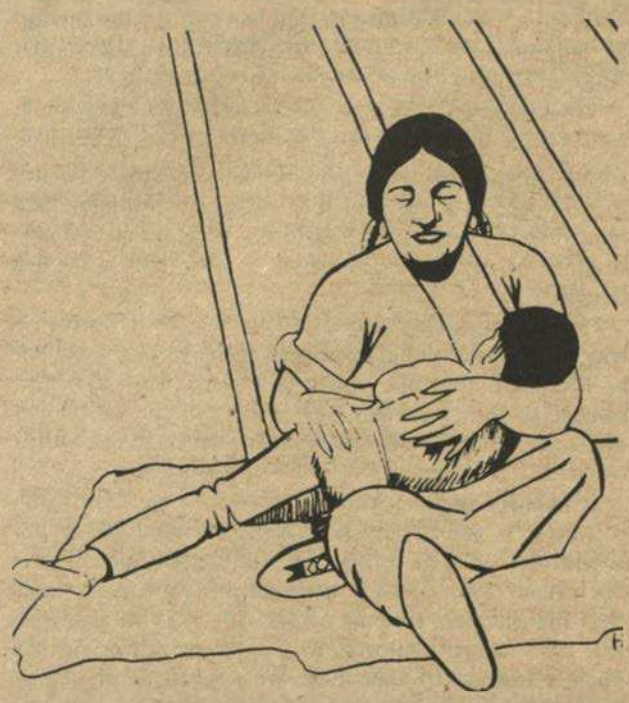
The sterilization occurred two days after the birth of her fifth child while Mrs Serena was still in the hospital. She charged that two Armstrong County welfare workers, Jean Burgess and Natalie J. Leezer, employees of Armstrong County (Pa.) Child Welfare Services. Mrs. Schott said Mrs. Burgess and Mrs. Leezer had told her that the divorced mother of five should be sterilized. At the time, Mrs. Serena was living near Pittsburgh with a black man.

The conversations between the Louisiana woman and the defendants took place during a custody struggle between Mrs. Serena and the welfare services. Mrs. Schoot had been a foster parent for one of the Serena children when she had lived in Armstrong County.

Her statement claimed that Mrs. Burgess had told her that she was going to have Mrs. Serena sterilized because the Indian woman was retarded and any children she conceived would also be "abnormal and retarded." When Mrs. Schott asked Mrs. Burgess how she would get Mrs. Serena to sign the necessary consent forms, Mrs. Burgess replied, "She's too stupid to know what she's signing." In 1972, a social summary report prepared by the Child Welfare Services called Mrs. Serena a call girl who left her children for days at a time while she went off with different men.

Mrs. Serena was persuaded to surrender her three youngest children to foster homes after the sterilization. Welfare workers told her she was ill and that one of her sons was also ill and dying. At the time, the children were aged one month, three and four years.

"I thought it was the best thing to do at the time," Mrs. Serena testified. "She (Mrs Burgess) told me. You don't need any more children. You're an unfit mother."



With the help of the Council of Three Rivers American Indian Center, Pittsburgh, Mrs. Serena regained custody of her children after going to court.

After five hours of deliberation during two days in the recent civil suit, the jury reached a decision. Before the case was handed to the jury, U.S. District Judge Gustave Diamond dismissed charged against two of the seven defendants: Lola Shafer, who at thetime was an employee of Child Welfare Services; and Citizens General Hospital. The jury found three more defendants not guilty; David Allen, a caseworker with the Armstrong County Board of Public Assistance, and the two doctors who performed the sterilization. Only Mrs. Burgess, 56, and Mrs. Leezer, 71, were found liable for damages. Mrs. Serena had been asking for more that $20,000. She was awarded $17,000.

Based on the seven days of testimony by 23 witnesses, the jury ruled that Mrs. Burgess had deliberately lied to Mrs. Serena, which led to the children being placed in foster homes. The jury also decided that Mrs. Leezer, who retired as directory of Child Welfare Services in 1974, caused a delay in the return of the children to their mother by obstructing implementation of a 1972 order from the Armstrong County Common Pleas Court. The two welfare workers had claimed that their actions were meant to help the Serena family and weren't carried out because of racial discrimination.

Mrs. Serena's atorneys, Thomas Hollander and Richard S. Levine, said the case may not be over yet because the defendants have the right to appeal the verdict.

Mrs. Serena was one of nine brothers and sisters born to Creek-Shawnee parents in El Reno, Okla. She left home after 11th grade because of her father's drinking and went to Oklahoma City, where she worked four years as a carhop at a restaurant. It was there she met her husband, Harry Serena, a western Pennsylvania native who was in the Air Force. She married him at the age of 19, two weeks after they had met, and Mrs. Serena gave birth to their first child seven months later. The Serena lived in Oklahoma, then moved to Armstrong County in the early 1960s before Serena left his wife. After regaining custody of her children, Mrs. Serena moved her family to Shawnee, Okla.

Ironically, forced sterilization and removal of children from their natural mothers to be placed in foster homes is a common practice against Oklahoma Indians. Mrs. Serena learned, however, that racial discrimination toward Indians has no state borders or geographic coundaries. It can happen in "black-and-white" Pennsylvania as well as in "Indian country."

(This story was based on articles written for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette by a member of its staff, Fritz Huysman.)

SOME OTHER VIEWS (other than our own)

Let's Put the 'Indian' Back in Indian Assemblies

While Native organizations have taken tremendous strides toward a bold new Indian future one must wonder at the price we are paying to get there.

We have our Indian jet setters – our new rising Indian elite. Our professional conference goers and even our own professional Indians. It is a far cry from fifteen years ago when Native organizers travelled in rickety old cars, slept on floors and depended on the nickels and dimes of the poor people to keep them going.

Today's Indian organizers fly Air Canada, sleep in the best hotels, and earn a per diem as high as one hundred dollars per day.

Even our medicine people have changed. A true holy man is humble, often being the poorest member of a Native community. When they accepted tobacco they would often travel great distances at their own expense to help others. Today even that has changed.

There is one thing sadly missing from today's Indian assemblies. That is our ability to reach a consensus. We tend to model our assemblies along the lines of the greater society. Roberts Rules of Order seem to dominate.

There are two Indian assemblies I distinctly remember during my time as a newsman. The first was on the banks of the mighty McKenzie River at a place called Fort Norman, N.W.T.. The other was a National Indian Brotherhood conference in Winnipeg.

Fort Norman is an isolated Dene community in the shadow a a mountain where the Great Bear River empties into the McKenzie. The "Big river", Decho is five miles across and the McKenzie mountains lie purple in the west beyond the forest like the jagged edges of a saw. It is a beautiful place to be in the long days of the Arctic summer. The meeting hall was a log building overlooking the river. Delegates came by boat, walked in from the bush or chartered in from Norman Wells, fifty miles to the North. Tents were set up and those without accommodation boarded at peoples' homes. Booze was banned.

The most interesting aspect of the meeting was the way it was conducted. The chiefs lined a row of tables in the centre of the floor while observers crowded around them. If a point was not understood by all, the meeting stopped.

Each chief then spoke in turn until the matter was cleared up. Then, and only then, did the meeting proceed. When a decision was bade it was by the will of the people. A consensus had to be reached. The young and the old stood as one.

The National Indian Brotherhood conference was quite different. Robert's Rules of Order dominated the meeting. Individual provincial organizations tended to push their own ideas onto the other provinces. Accommodation was the Holiday Inn or the North Star Inn. The meeting hall was the multi-million dollar Winnipeg Convention Centre.

There was something decadent about it all. Talk about the poor Indians while sipping expensive scotch on the twelfth floor of the Holiday Inn somehow just didn't make sense.

Indian organizations have come a long way in the last ten years. There are Native people who have devoted their whole life to the Indian cause, often without any thanks or recognition from their own people. An Indian organizer's life can be a rough one. They are often caught in a cross fire from their own people and the government. It is a long hard uphill fight. The pressure is intense and the job provides little lasting security.

Perhaps one should not be so critical of Indian organizations, but somehow there is something lost when we follow the organizing example of the greater society.

Personally, I would rather sit on some bleached log by a northern river rubing shoulders with the locals, than sip "Jim Beam" while boogeying to a disco tune on the twenty-seventh floor of the North Star Inn.

(This editorial appeared in the November-December 1978 issue of THE INDIAN RECORD, and carried a credit line to THE NEW NATION. There was no byline.)

AN EDITOR'S 'FAREWELL'

There's never a "right time" to sever a relationship with a newspaper and never a right time to cease working with one's tribe in one capacity or another. The pressures of the times don't permit that. In my case, the onset of what could be a hampering illness is taking the choice of the pursuit of "right times" away from me.

It has been a professionally enriching experience. The breadth and scope and ferment within the Yakima Nation are not paralleded by many other tribes. That the Yakima leadership plays a significant and responsible role across the Pacific Northwest and on national fronts is not seriously questioned by anyone. It's here – and the creativity and problem-solving abilities of the Yakima people are widely attended to.

There is also a private and personal opportunity which these past wo years have afforded me. My parents were married during the Great Depression years - a Yakima mother, a Walla Walla father-and working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at various reservations, they raised their six children on other reservations in various states.

The two years have given me also what we all need: an embrace of the longhouse, the blessings of the nearness of Mt. Adams, the enduring physical and spirtual beauty of our people, a sharing of strength, commitment and laughter. It's been also a personal time of "recycling" my life in my private hours in a place I have needed deeply.

I do have one observation to leave as editor -- triggered by the unhappy allegation of a person quoted in this issue that the contents of this newspaper are subject to the censorship and control of the 14 elected members of the Tribal Council, and the General Council officers.

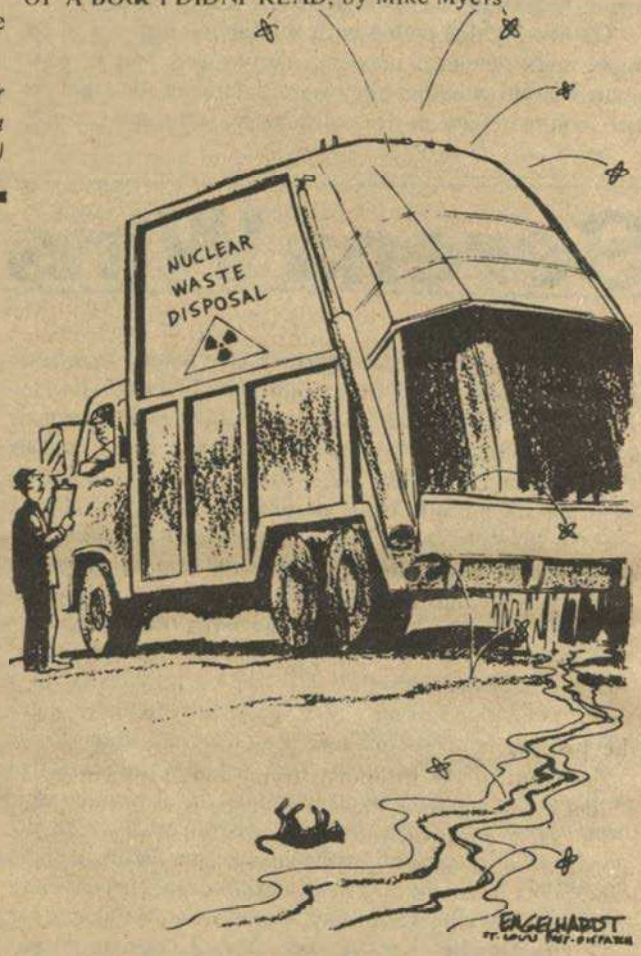
It's simply untrue. And I've been in the best position to know. It would have been a hell of a hotseat if that submitted for their review and modification-since I have been here. And no such expectations were ever stated that that happen. Instead, on Jan. 17, 1977 we launched the first regular editorial page - "Perspectives"-in the paper's history to that date. We opened another page exclusively for the thoughts, opinions and feelings of yourselves called "Out of Our Mailbags." Our staff regularly covers all Tribal Council sessions-andthere's no attempt to conceal "the facts" from us. In any issue of a newspaper, there are many voices, and they certainly don't make a necessarily harmonious choir.

A tribal newspaper, even though its publisher is the tribe, is not the personal property of the few elected officials among the total membership of the tribe. Its responsibilities are to the "public interest" of all tribal members. Our own income and tribal funds are not spent to print things which will either hinder of further the careers of individuals.

A tribal newspaper is also protected by the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act which guarantees freedom of the press in Indian country. And the Tribal Council in 1977 enacted a civil and criminal code which includes provisions and protections against libel and slander. These are not inconsequential things. Actually, I have found Tribal Council and General Council officials more conscious and heedful of these things than many of the rest of us. It makes a difference to know the difference.

(This editorial was the farewell address by Richard LaCourse as he departed as editor of the YAKIMA NATION NEWS which rose to one of the premier Native newspapers in the nation under his guidance.)

MIKE'S book review
OF A BOOK I DIDNT READ, by Mike Myers



'Just keep driving around – We may come up with a solution yet'

Engelhardt, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

50 YEARS OF MARRIAGE

On February 18, Chief Irving Powless, Sr. and his wife Celia, celebrated 50 years of marriage. The event was honored in the Onondaga community with a dinner and social dance.

The staff of Akwesasne Notes wishes to extend our warmest congradulations to a couple who have been stalwarts in the maintainence of the Hondinisianne Way of Life, and our hopes that they will be amongst the people for many more years.

"WATER NEGOTIATIONS" - A NEW WORD FOR FRAUD

BY STEVE NICKERSON

(NIYC - Albuquerque, N.M.) Passions and faces come and go in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but new packaging never changes old substance. A new set of clothes, a new policy style, can briefly cover up but can never refute the fact that the federal government's advocacy of Indian rights is 90% fraud. And though their faces, names and races change, the men who make and implement each new style, come payoff time, are still con artists to the core.

The latest fashion in the Department of the Interior's treatment of Indian water rights is "negotiation." It began during 1978 when the Carter Administration called for the settlement of Indian water rights through a process of either "negotiation or litigation." This is an entirely reasonable plan, because there are only two ways in which to settle water disputes: negotiation or litigation.

The government has placed the stress on the negotiation alternative and there is reason to believe that is the only way the government wants the problem solved. One can suspect the "litigation" alternative was thrown into the policy as a red herring because there is no substantial reason for the federal government to suddenly change its 70-year old policy of doing everything possible to avoid the litigation of Indian water rights.

An examination of situation after situation, whether it is in the recent water controversy on the Colville Reservation, or the one that involves the Rio Grande Pueblo dating back to 1921, shows that the departments of Justice and Interior have consistently avoided litigation.

In many instances the government has explained away its aversions to litigation by saying it fears the tribes might lose in court. But the facts in each case generally show that the government fears the tribes might win.

This fear has inspired the emphasis on the negotiation alternative. It stands to reason that the federal government and the western states are confident that the tribes will gain less, or stand to lose more, through negotiation than through litigation. An examination of the process of negotiation and the way in which the Department of the Interior is trying to sell the policy in Indian country shows their confidence is well- founded.

To get a grasp on the meaning of the policy, three questions must be asked: 1) With whom are the tribes to negotiate? 2) Why should the tribes negotiate? and 3) What can the tribes expect in return if they negotiate away some of their rights to the use of water?

There is some confusion over the question of who the tribes will face over the negotiating table. During the last week of January, a spokesmen for the Interior Department's Solicitor's Office left the impression among tribes in Southern California that the negotiations will be conducted between the tribes and the Department of Interior. But the two attempts to put the policy to work so far indicate that the Department of the Interior will only be the mediator between the tribes on one side, and the states and organizations of non-Indian water users on the other.

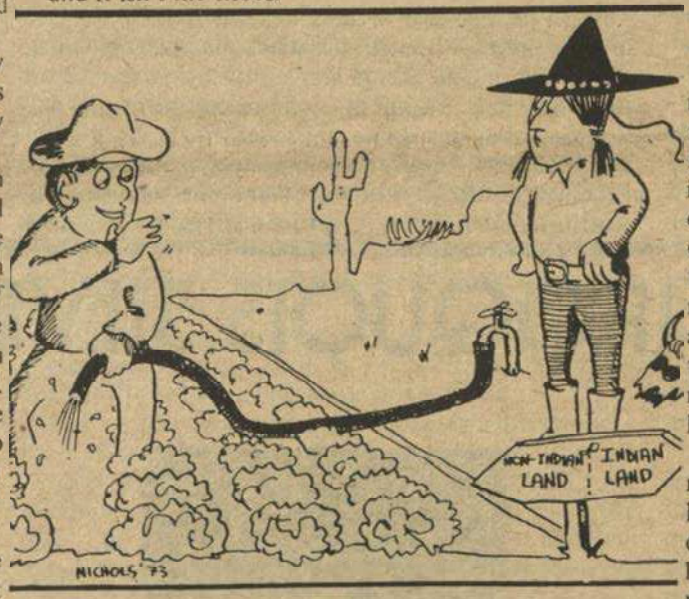
The first negotiating attempt was started by Interior Solicitor Leo Krulitz. It is his goal to get a number of central Arizona tribes to negotiate with the Salt River Water Users Association over the tribes' potential claim to water now in use on the Salt River Reclamation Project near Phoenix. Krulitz evidently has the support of Assistant Interior Secretary for Indian Affairs Forrest Gerrard in this plan.

In an address to Montana tribal leaders in mid-January, Gerrard cited Central Arizona as an example for the need for negotiations. He said the claims of the tribes imperil " future operations of the Salt River project." If anyone is laboring under the illusions that Gerrard is an advocate of Indian rights, his statement about the Salt River Project should set the record straight and expose the old fraud behind the new policy style.

He failed to mention that the Salt River Project enjoys so many subsidies from so many different sources, that the water users pay only a fraction of the true value of the water provided to them. He also failed to mention that is was through heavily documented cases of fraud, theft, and breach of trust that Salt River and neighboring reclamation projects reduce more that one Central Arizona Reservation from being the only irrigated and productive land found in the area in the 1850s to what they are today: sparcely irrigated desert surrounded by some of the most productive irrigated lands in the U.S.

The second attempt at negotiations began with Gerrard's address to the Montana tribes, whom he wants to go into negotiations with the State of Montana and its water users. According to sources in the Department of the Interior, Gerrard assumed that he had received the tribes' permission to begin these negotiations because he, Krulitz and Miles Flynt of the Justice Department met with the Montana officials after leaving the meeting with the Montana tribes. The tribes, however, insisted they only wanted to hear what the state had to say. They were angered also that Gerrard met with state officials without any tribal representatives present.

This appears to be the pattern that is developing under the Negotiations Policy. Arizona State officials in the Salt River Project say that negotiations with the tribes are fully under way. Yet the tribes say they have not consented to negotiations, nor have they begun any. It is obvious that the state officials are talking to someone, and it isn't the tribes.



If it is the states with whom the tribes are to negotiate, the next question is: Why?

In selling the policy in Indian country, the Department of the Interior has said that the tribes should negotiate because there is not enough money available for the cost of litigation. This is the thinnest of excuses.

Most of the money in water litigation is spent in the process of determining how much water the tribe is entitled to under the law. Yet, to be successful in negotiations the tribe has to document the quantity of its legal entitlement just as soundly as if it were going into court. The state is going to demand the same proof of rights no matter which form is used for the settlement.

Successful negotiations are going to cost as much as successful litigation. If the money isn't there for one, it isn't there for the other. A tribe would be headed for disaster if it attempted either negotiations or litigation without it.

Some Department of Interior personnel have indicated that the Bureau of Reclamation could be made available to contuct the quantification process for the tribe. This however makes the lack of litigation money an even less palatable alibi.

The Bureau of Land Reclamation does not work for free any more than anyone else. The cost of reclamation work for the tribes would still have to come from the Department of the Interior's budget. In addition, given the Bureau of Land Reclamation's track record for the successful dehydration of reservations through its reclamation projects (Salt River is only one example), putting BLR in charge of quantifying a tribe's water rights is about as safe as hiring an arsonist to guard a match factory.

As far as the federal government is concerned, there are plenty of reasons why the tribes and the states should negotiate. But it is doubtful if they can come up with any sound reason why the tribe would want to.

The only reason tribes should negotiate away any water is to get something in exchange that would be, over the longest of runs worth more in cold cash than what the water would be worth put to some beneficial use over the same period of time. The only exception to this would be if the tribe wanted to get out from under a state harrassing demand of "give us the water we want or we'll steal it from you anyway." This would not be negotiation, but merely an example of a tribe buying into a state-operated protection racket.

In trying to answer the question of what the tribes can expect from negotiations, it is best to look first at what they cannot expect.

It stands to reason that when two parties negotiate over water issues, one side or the other will be expecting new water out of the deal. This will not be the case in tribal/state negotiations because neither side has control of any water that is not already allocated and in use. In almost every watershed in the west, there is no new, unallocated water flowing through the reservation and state, and then on out to the sea.

The only substantial quantity of unallocated water is now in the control of the Secretary of the Interior. This is federal project water, or in the case of the Missouri River Basin in Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas, industrial water that the Secretary has already auctioned off to energy companies. The states have no jurisdiction over this water and will not be able to make it available to the tribes. And as certainly as the sun comes up each morning, no negotiating state is going to voluntarily abrogate the right issued to a non-Indian in order that a tribe can put the water to its own new uses. A tribe might be able to get new water out of a state in litigation, but never in negotiations.

By the same token, a state should not expect to negotiate any new water out of a tribe. Because a state lacks the strong position of the tribes in court, it is doubtful that a state could get any Indian water in litigation. With all other options closed off, a state, if it wants new water, will have to fight it out with the Secretary of the Interior, just as the tribes might have to do in a number of cases.

The negotiations, then, will not be over new water, but instead, concern adjustment of rights to water that is already allocated and in use. Specifically, they will center around the vast amounts of water that the states have allocated out to non-Indians whose priorities are secondary to the tribes' prior and paramount rights.

And since the states cannot expect to get any new water from the tribes, they will be demanding in negotiations that the tribes relinquish their rights to the water that the state has already allocated out to non-Indian users. This makes it evident that in the present situation, negotiations can only lead to a reduction in the tribes' property rights to the use of the water.

In such a negotiating situation, the states have only one thing in their favor – the knowledge that most of the tribes do not have the facilities, the canals, ditches, pumps, or projects needed to start using water that is now being used by non-Indians. They also know that they have the power to keep Congress from appropriating money to build any project that will enable a tribe to exercise its right and in the process take water away from a non-Indian.

It is in this area that the states will probably be

making their offers in the negotiations. For instance, a state can request that a tribe religquish its rights to a certain amount of water in exchange for the state's support in financing new water projects on the reservation – projects that would allow the tribes to put to a beneficial use water to which the tribe retained its rights.

Such a case would be almost pure political settlement and would have very little relationship to the true value of the water exchange. It is doubtful if any state could afford the cost of putting up a reservation water project without substantial federal subsidy and it is more doubtful that such a project would solve any of the tribes' basic problems for several reasons.

Fifty years ago it was still fairly easy to find sources of undeveloped water and to build facilities to capture this water and make use of it. But the west has grown, sources of undeveloped water have diminished rapidly, and the cost of development has risen to a point where they are greater than the profits to be made from it. This is the reason why there is no new water available either to the states or the tribes.

A state could promise support to finance the construction of water use projects on reservations, but if the tribe has relinquished water rights to the state in exchange for this promise, it would have no water to put to use in this project. The tribe would have to fight the secretary of interior for the water, just as the state would have to do. Furthermore, lacking authority over the secreatry's water, the state could not make promises to the tribe that the secretary would come across with it, particularly if the water had already been contracted out to an energy company.

The mere fact that such a promise is hollow will not keep the states from making it as an offer to the tribes.

Already the Salt River Project has reportedly made usch a proposition to the Salt River and Fort McDowell Reservations. The offer is that the two reservations will bet a sizable supply of water from the central Arizona Project, now under construction, if they wave their Winter's Doctrine and aboriginal title water rights to the waters of the Salt River: water that the Salt River Project has monopolized. To accept the offer would be pure folly.

The Salt River is a natural, dependagle supply and the tribes should be able to substantiate a sizable claim of first rights to its everlasting flwo. But the central Arizona Project will probably not be in operation for more than a couple of generations, its supply will fluctuate wildly from year to year and its operation will be under the control of the Secretary of Interior and the Central Arizona Water Conservation District, which is already infamous for its anti-Indian bias.

It seems obvious that the states will rely on their superior political power to make gains in the negotiating process. The only way that a tribe can county this power, if they decide to abandon their legal strenght and go into negotiations instead of to court, would be to adhere to a strictly economic bargaining position.

If the tribes go into negotiations with the sole demand that the states pay them for their relinquished rights on the basis of what any of the water is worth to the highest non- Indian bidder, it is doubtful that anyone could come up with such a pay-off for all of it.

A little over a year ago, Kennecott Kopper agreed to pay the Gila River, Pima Maricopa tribe about 75 dollars an acre foot for water. This is twice the current market value for industrial water in central Arizona. In the coal fields of Montana, energy companies have paid as much as three times the appraised value of a ranch in order to get the water rights that went with the land.

If a tribe can point out an instance where someone has paid such prices for water they would be cutting their own throats if they did not ask for the same or more, patricularly if an energy company had paid a non-Indian top dollar for water that the tribe had a prior right to use.

Instances in which water rights have been sold for six or seven-figure amounts are rare and generally only pertain where there is a small amount of water in the entire water picture. Most of the water to which a tribe could lay a prior claim has been permitted out by the states to non-Indian ranchers and farmers who, under current economic conditions, only make a profit out of the use of that water in one out of every seven years or so. If these farmers and ranchers had to bear any additional cost for water most would go broke.

It can be seen that if the states negotiate on the basis of their political strength the tribes will probably end up short-changed and should stay out of the process. But if the tribes stick to a strictly economic argument, the only argument they can derive any benefit from, negotiations will probably break down because the non-Indians cannot affordto pay the tribes what the water is really worth. In either event, the tribes will gain nothing and only waste their money and time, if not their water.

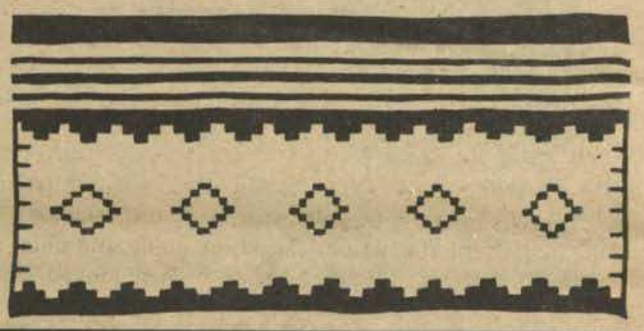
From the time the Department of the Interior began advocating the benefit of negotiated settlement the plant has met with strong resistance in Indian country. In order to break down some of this resistance, the Department of Interior is reportedly beginning to change its language.

Rather than talking of negotiations, the federal government is now calling for "compacts" to be formed between the tribes and the states, such as suggested by former Sen. James Abourezk a year ago. But the word "compacts " is merely a more politically sophisticated and respectable way of saying "negotiations." It changes nothing. It does, however, bring into focus another argument against the process.

Throughout the years the various states in the west have negotiated compacts for a division of water from interstate streams. In almost every case the compacts have settled little, except in the short run, because conditions in those states have continually changed. The compacts have rarely brought an end to any water squable, but instead only limit the coundaries and rules of a continuing struggle.

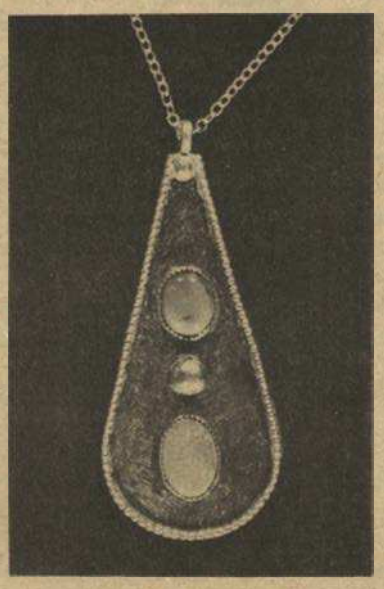
In essence, they have made formal and public duels out of what once had been cutthroat back-alley free-for-alls. And in almost every instance, disputes over these compacts, once they have been signed by the state and ratified by congress, have led to or are not leading toward a litigated settlement. The courts often end up deciding the matter anyway and the compacts have only been one element in the pre-litigation process.

As long as the tribes' real strength in protecting their water rights lies in litigation, litigation is where they should begin. It is quite possible tribes could end up in court anyway, evern after negotiating a wave-rights no court can restore to them.



IROQUOIS SILVER

SILVER ARROWHEAD PENDANT
This is a handcrafted sterling silver arrowhead pendant that comes with an 18" silver chain. $11.25.



TURQUOIS TEARDROP PENDANT
Two pieces of turquois set in sterling silver against a darkened background. Approximately 3" high and 1" wide, with sterling silver chain. $45.00.

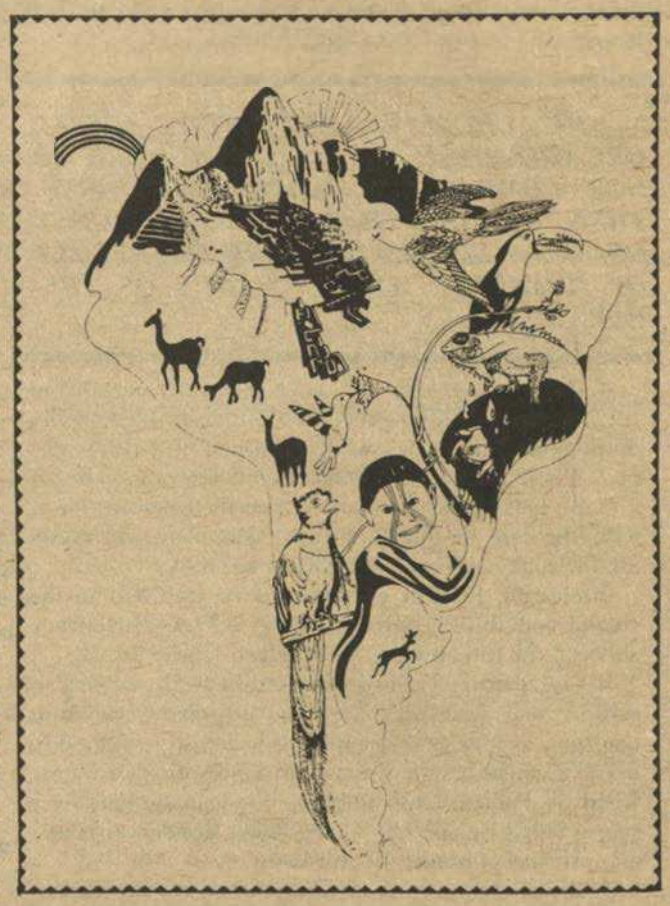
NOTE TO CUSTOMERS: Because of the continuous fluction in silver prices, these prices will be in effect only until April 30, 1979. We will try our best to keep the prices of Indian jewelry down, but the price of silver increased 40% in the last two years, and half of that increase took place during December 1978 and January 1979.

PEACE PENDANT
Sterling silver pendant inlaid with jet. Explanation of symbols accompanies each pendant. 5/8" by 1½", with 18" silver chain. $25.00

GENOCIDE OF THE ACHE-GUYAKI

A CONTINUING REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS OF NATURAL WORLD PEOPLE IN PARAGUAY

by Robert Jerome Smith and Bartomeu Melia



An archetypal moment occurs when a group of human beings emerges from the forest and stands at the end of a road, waiting to give itself up to the mercy of a more powerful and encroaching race.

Such a moment occurred in 1975 when a band of about 115 Ache Indians (their own name for themselves; others call them Guayaki) turned themselves over to a startled worker of the nearby Palmito canning plant. A priest was called; he came and gave them some garments to wear; they put them on, and in doing so, in their own minds, they ceased to be Ache.

We were in Asuncion at the time. When word reached us of the emergence, we resolved to visit them. Charges had been made for years about killings and kidnappings of the Ache by Paraguayans. Only two years previously Mark Munzel, a German ethnologist, had brought the situation before the eyes of the world by charging in an IWGIA document that Paraguay was guilty of genocide against the Ache.

A small nomadic tribe of hunter-gatherers, the Ache seem always to have been persecuted. Even before the advent of the Europeans they were looked down upon and hunted by the larger and more organized Guarani tribes that surrounded them. With the coming of the Spaniards, Jesuits and Guarani together raided the forest to capture, tame and Christianize them. References to their attempts to acculturate the Ache and other similar tribes in the area are scattered, but from them one can piece together a picture of the Missionaries' techniques of evangelization. One chronicler reports how, a group of unsuspecting Indians having been stealthily tracked down at dawn:

"They made an assault on the Guyakies, who woke up in the hands of those they imagined to be their enemies. And to prevent them from fleeing or doing something rash in self-defense, they tied them up. They looked for the children who were usually hidden the the forest, and checked out the tallest trees, which the Guayaki climb, and, these steps concluded, they sat down with them very affectionately, giving them food to eat and dressing them so they could appear decently before others."

But the Indians were as recalcitrant as wild beasts to taming. "Sometimes they were biting their bonds with their teeth, though the bonds were of iron, like rabid animals... If they were left tied up for a certain length of time, they refused food." Seeing this, the missionary wasted no time: "He asked each one if he believed in the mysteries of Christ: upon their saying yes, he set about baptising those who wanted it. A short while later they all died, without exception."

It is only at the end of the nineteench century that a sufficient number of reports appear to give us an overall picture of the general relationship between the Aches and the Paraguayans after the departure of the Jesuits. Again, a few examples will suffice to reveal the apparently well-established pattern:

"One day in 1898 the administrator of the ranch saw a column of smoke rising in the forest. He went to it and found a woman with two children. With no provocation, following the custom of the Paraguayans, a people who call themselves civilized, of killing the Guayaki wherever they find them, he wounded the woman, who nevertheless fled and escaped. One of the children, a boy about eight years old, was killed. Mr. Ednilch got his skull and sent the remains of the skeleton to the Ethnographic Museum in Leipzig... The other of the two children, a little girl of four or five years old, was taken to San Bernardino where she was raised... There she experienced the first benefits of Christian civilization."

In the 1930s a Catholic priest reported that a group of gatherers of yerba mate had attacked a group of Aches, killed some of them and captured some children. A French ethnologist witnessed a group of acculturated Mbya Indians returning from a raid on the Ache. Their booty consisted of honey, a coati and a bound and gagged two- or three-year-old Ache girl. "They had wanted to capture the women to rape them, but the women fled; so they brought the girl. planning to sell her. A number of ranchers in this area have bought Guyaki children in this way, paying 200 to 300 Paraguayan pesos for them."

The pretext for the raids was usually an Ache's killing of a mule or a cow, or his having stolen some manioc or corn from someone's garden, or an axe or a machete. There is no question but that for Paraguayan farmers or workers living at the level of bare subsistence losses that seem inconsequential to us could be very serious. Even so, killings and kidnappings could be considered appropriate reprisals only in an ambience where the killing of Indians was not considered a crime.

Until recent years, most of the contact with the Ache took place in the more densely-settled area south of Coronel Oviedo. By the mid-Sixties, however, the southern mountains were cleared of Ache, and from that time on the contacts were made in the northern mountains between Curugauty and the Parana River. A well-documented hunt occurred in 1971, when two cows of the Naranjito estancia were found dead. Some six or seven men, led by a well-known hunter, tracked down a group of Aches. They killed more than ten of them and brought back five children, who were sold. (Apparently only one of the children is still alive.)

It was against the background of such reports as these that we learned of the group of 115 Aches coming out of the forest in 1975. The basic question we wanted to answer when we visited them in September of that year was "Why did they come out? The act represented a surrender, after all, which their tribe had previously resisted for some four hundred years. Our hypothesis was that they came out to save their lives.

In the process of South American history we see two patterns: either upon encountering the Whites, Indian groups submitted to them, and as a result their culture was wiped out, or they fled and fought them, and culturally survived, at least into this century, when the first pattern has asserted itself universally. Why?

A frequent suggestion is that they come out because they so covet the White man's material possessions and are so impressed by his power (airplanes, trucks, guns) that they finally decide that they want to share in it. Another reason often given is that they come out because they find themselves in an economic squeeze, with encroachment by the whites drastically diminishing their ecological base.

Both of these ideas have a certain validity, but there is a third much more economical explanation perhaps too seldom utilized, especially by advocates, practitioners and consultants for national and regional development schemes: the Indians are simply being killed off at a rate they can no longer accept; the price of their freedom in terms of human lives has become too high.

With this hypothesis, then, and with awareness of the charges that had been made, we decided to see what the Ache might be able to tell us about the situation.

The site of their camp was an area of forests and open meadows not far from the Parana River. This is still a frontier zone of mate trees and lumber mills, where men still carry guns and homesteaders, mostly from Brazil, are streaming in to find a new life. The nearest town is Laurel, a supply center for forest workers, mate-gatherers and small landowners, all of whom have either had hostile relations with the Ache themselves or know stories of others who have.

The Ache had set up campfires on both sides of a deep arroyo. When we arrived we were greeted by a Paraguayan worker whom the priest had left in charge. The Ache were quietly curious about us. They had been here for about two months by now, and had begun to lose their impulse to flight-or-fight on the approach of whites. Within a few days they would accept us and we would see them as quiet people given to displays of affection: touching, smiling, standing close to one; and especially at night, to singing songs that brought back people and events from the past.

The Paraguayan worker gave us permission to stay. The next morning we began our work.

The seriousness of the charge of genocide requires that every effort be made in testing to elicit objective, reliable and valid data. The difficulty is that much of the evidence obtainable is circumstantial, hearsay, and (since the charges are partisan – genocide is hardly a neutral term) very liable to be biased.

Given all this, we decided not to ask direct questions about killings, feeling that it would be very difficult to get a systematic picture of what happened, even more, feeling that this technique would evoke biased answers. Our informants would be likely to tell us either what they thought we would like to hear or nothing at all. Whatever their answers, there was no good way to check on whether or not they were true.

So we approached the problem from another tack: setting in a context of total mortality in the families of the group members. To structure the responsses diachronically, (to study changes over a period of time – ed.) we decided to elicit genealogies, asking, as names were given, if the named individual were still alive, and if so, where he was, and if not, what he died of. Thus we would arrive at a global picture of death and dispersion against which we could measure the significance of whatever homocides there might have been.

Basing our questionnaire on Smith's earlier experience in eliciting Ache genealogies at the National Colony, we asked for a complete listing of Ego's living children, his siblings, spouses, parents and grandparents. (The informants could generally not remember the names of their grandparents, but could nevertheless sometimes remember how they died.)

This method has weaknesses, but these are more than offset by its strengths. Genealogies are, among many people, the basis for claims to land and property rights; in consequence they are notorioulsy liable to be falsified and modified in one way or another for personal or group gain. Thus, the more important genealogies are, the more skeptical one must be of them.

However, among the nomadic Ache, for whom possessions above a previous few are literally more of a burden than a blessing, there is no such problem. The problem, in fact, lies in the other direction: so little good accrues to knowing one's genealogy that it is very easy to forget it. For this reason, the family histories elicited were truncated in the way described above: informants remembered most reliably the people with whom they had had the most intensive intercourse.

Grandparents more often than not were unknown to the informants, though sometimes their names were filled in by members of the parent's generation present.

There were three checks for reliability in the design. The first consisted simply of a repeat interview in which the subject's genealogy was elicited for a second time. We did this with three or four informants, and in all cases their testimonies checked out. Secondly, other people present at the interview, some older, some younger, helped out not only in refreshing Ego's memory but in correcting his mistaken ideas on the spot. The third control was intrinsic to the design: information given by kinsmen interviewed separately could be compared for discrepancies. Most such discrepancies turned out to be the result of multiple marriages on the part of one or the other of the parents, and simply had the effect of adding more names of siblings to the total genealogy. There was only one case in which testimonies did not check out – one young unmarried girl apparently just made up names and other answers as they occurred to her. We had to throw her testimony out altogether, though through the testimonies of other members of her family she still appears in the genealogies. With this exception the testimonies were quite consistent. The high consistency and reliability we achieved would have been much lower if we had tried to elicit names and other information about siblings of the parents' generation. We were hoping we could do this, because such information would give us a much better numerical balance in the generations and a more complete picture of the kinship system, but we saw almost at once that ability to recall these names was very irregular and, in general, strongly dominated by "I don't know" answers or provocative of long arguments among the Ache present. So we decided not to ask for information at this level.

"IN THE SECOND GENERATION, THE LIVING GREATLY OUTNUMBER THE DEAD, IN THE THIRD GENERATION THE DEAD SUBSTANTIALLY OUTNUMBER THE LIVING, WHILE OF THE FOURTH ONLY ONE PERSON IS LEFT ALIVE. THIS INDICATES A DEATH RATE SUCH THAT 25% OF THE SECOND GENERATION HAVE DIED BEFORE THIRTY, WITH THE RATE DOUBLING IN EACH SUCCEEDING GENERATION UNTIL VIRTUALLY NO ONE IS LEFT ALIVE AT AGE 60."

We were unable, of course, to ascertain the exact ages of our informants; the best we could do was to assign them to generations, considering a generation as about 15 years. In the census we were able also to specify infants and young unmarried adults. Ages of our informants we estimated both by subjective estimates based on appearance (we made independent judgments and compared them) and on genealogical factors (e.g. whether they had children and grandchildren). We assigned ages to people mentioned in the genealogies in the same way. If they appeared as siblings of Ego and no further indication of age was given, we assigned them to Ego's generation. Although since a person my continue having children through three generations there are undoubtedly errors in our assignments, when the data were sorted out we felt that our approximation of the number of people belonging to each generation was a reasonable one, certainly the closest that we knew how to obtain.

The first thing we had to do was to take a census. We found two old people, 26 married couples, 24 boys and 22 girls of the first generation (more than half of whom were infants), and, in in the marriageable but unmarried group, 13 young men and only 3 young women. The total population was 116. While the great majority of the group members were of the northern Ache, there were also some from the southern bands, including a few from a cannibalistic band. Most of those from the south had previously been in the colony of Cerro Moroti, and had fled from it. The group was thus heterogeneous, and in its very composition reflected tribal disintegrations caused by the encroachment of the dominant culture.

The census accomplished, we could proceed with the genealogies. The Ache had grouped themselves around nineteen campfires, so we went from one fire to another, interviewing all of the married adults and those of the young unmarrieds whose parents were not in the camp. In the gathering of the data, two general tendencies on the part of our informants became apparent: They were much more interested in their own and descending generations than in the ascending, and the younger the informant the less interest he had in the subject at all.

When the genealogies were put together, corrected and sorted out, with duplications in the various accounts removed, they were found to represent a total of 579 people, 267 of them living and 312 dead.

"...THE ACHE HAVE DEVELOPED A SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN WHICH MURDER IS NOT COMMON. SO MUCH THE WORSE, THEN, WE FIND THAT SOME 20 PERCENT OF ALL ACHE DEATHS WERE THE RESULT OF HOMOCIDE AT THE HANDS OF THE PARAGUAYANS."

In the second generation, the living greatly outnumber the dead, in the third generation the dead substantially outnumber the living, while of the fourth only one person is left alive. This indicates a death rate such that 25% of the second generation have died before thirty, with the rate doubling in each succeeding generation until virtually no one is left alive at age 60.

Interesting for our purposes is the fact that in the second and third generations there is little discrepancy between the total number of male and female deaths.

In trying to ascertain the causes of death, we had to accept the categories of our informants without question, as long as their reply made any sort of sense to us. The categories they came up with were as follows: killed by Paraguayans; killed by the jaguar; killed by a snake; killed by another Ache; illness; accident; old age; got lost; was poisoned; I don't know.

Again we find little discrepancy between the causes of death of men and women, except in the number killed by snakebite, a reflection, no doubt, of men's spending more time hunting than women.

Of particular relevance to our study is the very low number of within-group homocides: only one percent of total deaths were at the hands of other Ache. This indicates that for the Ache homocide has been an insignificant factor in their development of survival strategies. Or to put it another way, the Ache have developed a social organization in which murder is not common. So much the worse, then, we find that some 20 percent of all Ache deaths were the result of homocide at the hands of the Paraguayans. With the exception of "illness" this was by far the major cause of death among them.

"... WE FIND THE PERCENTAGES OF ACHE DEAD WHO WERE KILLED BY PARAGUAYANS TO BE 23, 20, AND 16, FOR AN OVERALL TOTAL OF 20 PERCENT."

Eliminating the "I don't know" category (because presumably it would distribute itself equally through the other categories) and looking only at categories 2, 3, and 4, for which we have an adequate number of members, we find the percentages of Ache dead who were killed by Paraguayans to be 23, 20, and 16, for an overall total of 20 percent.

In the study of the dispersion of the Ache who were still living, we find an ominous category: "Taken by Paraguayans." These were distinguished by our informants from Aches "Living with Paraguayans," people who are living on Paraguayan haciendas or in Paraguayan homes. The former category denotes specifically infants or young children carried off by force to be kept in servitude in the homes of Paraguayans. Thirty-two children were thus taken away from their families, all from the first or second generations. Needless to say, that they are still alive is only a presumption.

Kidnappings of this sort may be considered as the equivalent of homocide. Considered in this way, and added to the number of killings by Paraguayans, the proportion of such losses to total deaths becomes 28 percent; for the second generation, from which most of the kidnappings were reported, the proportion climbs to an astronomical 56 percent. More people of this generation were removed from the tribe by killing and kidnappings than by all other causes of death put together. The same could be true of the third and fourth generation; since most of our informants were of the second generation, our questionnaire prevented our eliciting information on kidnappings in ascending generations, since only the names of parents and grandparents were requested.

The large proportion of first-generation kidnappings indicates that the process has continued into recent times and may still be going on.

The inference that we draw from these data is that the attrition of the second-generation Ache is representative of a more or less constant rate that has persisted through a number of generations and is still continuing. What were the circumstances of the deaths and kidnappings? Almost half of the informants who reported cases of killings or kidnapping had suffered losses in more than one generation. And in a majority of genealogies where a child was reported kidnapped, at least one parent or grandparent was reported to have been slain. While there is no way to be sure that these events happened together, they fit (a pattern)... observed in the past by other anthropologists: An Ache attempting to steal from a Paraguayan leaves his children at the edge of the forest. He is killed in his attempt and the children are discovered and taken away, or the family is killed in a subsequent pursuit.

"... THIRTY-TWO CHILDREN WERE TAKEN AWAY FROM THEIR FAMILIES, ALL FROM THE FIRST OR SECOND GENERATIONS. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THAT THEY ARE STILL ALIVE IS ONLY A PRESUMPTION."

The data, then, point toward very frequent but unsystematic killings and kidnappings by Paraguayan farmers, ranchers and laborers rather than toward organized raids, by say, army or police units. Again, this is not to say that the latter have not occurred, only that the data here collected does not support any such charge.

And what of the present?Are the killings still going on? Immediately after examining the results of our investigation we felt a certain satisfaction in reporting that in our opinion the killing was over, simply because there were virtually no Ache left in the forest. They had saved themselves from extermination by coming out and standing on the road.

We believed this because they had told us that no one was left in the forest. Since their testimonies had been so reliable on the genealogies we believed they were telling the truth in this regard also. Later, however, checking with the missionaries at Cerro Moroti, we found that a large number of the people represented as being there were not there at all. It became apparent that there is a good amount of movement among the Ache still; they go from the National Colony to Paraguayan ranches and often back into the forest. In short, we believe now that there is at present a great loss of communication among groups, much fragmentation within groups, and a situation of continual leaving of the forest and re-entering it. Our informants told us that there was no one left in the forest in order to protect those who might be there. The Ache know by frequent and tragic experience that Indian agents and missionaries, upon hearing of groups still "wild," are inevitably beset by the urge to pursue them and bring them out.

We return, then, to the question of the present state of Paraguayan killing and kidnapping of the Ache. We can only say that as far as we can tell nothing has changed the Paraguayan's way of looking at them, no one has ever been penalized for killing them, and there is no more protection of them than before. With all this in mind, we conclude that for the Ache still in the forests the situation is substantially the same as it has always been. If there is any amelioration of it, it is simply due to there being fewer Ache.

"THE LARGE PROPORTION OF FIRST-GENERATION KIDNAPPINGS INDICATES THAT THE PROCESS HAS CONTINUED INTO RECENT TIMES AND MAY STILL BE GOING ON."

Can what we have described above be construed as genocide? On December 11, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution:

The Crime of Genocide

"Genocide is a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups, as homocide is the denial of the right to life of individual human beings; such denial of the right of existence shocks the conscience of mankind, results in great losses to humanity in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by the human groups, and is contrary to moral law and to the spirit and aims of the United Nations."

Considered in the passive voice in which the resolution is phrased, indeed Genocide has occurred and is occurring; the Ache have been denied their right of existence. The question becomes, then, who has denied them that right? As we stated above, we feel that the deaths we learned of were not caused directly by any representative of the Paraguayan government, with our without authorization; rather they seem to have been caused mainly by individual Paraguayan citizens, alone or in small groups.

The General Assembly of the U.N. adopted in December, 1948, a Convention on Genocide (unratified by the United States even now) which makes the resolution more specific:

U.N. Convention on Genocide Adopted by General Assembly, 9 December 1948

Article I – The contracting parties affirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and punish.

Article II – In the present convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.

Article III – The following shall be punishable: (a) Genocide; (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide; (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide; (d) Attempt to commit genocide (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article IV – Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers public officials, or private individuals.

According to this Convention, whatever the acts, they must be committed "with intent to destroy a ... group as such." But who can tell what the intentions of the perpetrators of Ache homicides may have been, other than to defend their property, or to revenge themselves for the loss of it? Intention here is probably impossible to establish.

On the other hand, two of the acts listed, killing members of the group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group, *have* been committed, and with such intensity that the Ache may well soon cease to exist. Is there no way in which de facto genocide might be recognized without the necessity of referring to the question of intent? It is the fact of multiple murders decimating a people, after all, which must be urgently addressed.

NO ONE HAS EVER BEEN PENALIZED FOR KILLING THEM, AND THERE IS NO MORE PROTECTION OF THEM THAN BEFORE."

Is there not some absolute way we might define de facto genocide? One way is simply to compare the situation to others that we consider on the face of it to be interable, unacceptably high. What is the moment in which homocide becomes genocide? We can't specify the exact moment, of course, but perhaps we can tell when the moment has passed. Bearing in mind the figure 20 per cent as the proportion of homicides to total deaths among the Ache (rising to 28 per cent, if we add in kidnappings), let us compare it with some data closer to home.

Because almost all the Ache deaths were caused "foreigners," we may compare them with our casualties in the Second World war (remembering always, however, that the Ache were not fighting). U.S. battle deaths during that war accounted for only 5.2 percent of total deaths for that period. Add in other war-related deaths and the total rises to 7.2 percent. The Ache proportion remains three times as high. It should be remembered, in this context, that the Second World War lasted only four years; the figures for the Ache compares a sixty year period.

Up to this point we have not spoken of death rates, proportion of deaths to total population, because we do not have the necessary data. However, certain rough comparative estimates may be made. It has been suggested by demographers that the death rate of the Yanomamo Indians of Northern Brazil and Southern Venezuela are typical for primitive populations. The Yanomamo death rate is .040, while that for the United States in .010. If the Ache rate is the same as that of the Yanomamo, the Ache death rate is approximately five times our own. Since the proportion of killings to all deaths is 20 percent, we see that the Ache are being killed by the Paraguayans at a rate which equals the American rate of death from *all* causes.

We believe that the above comparisons demonstrate de facto genocide has occurred. The Paraguayan government is responsible for it interms of its failure to protect its citizens. We think that Paraguayan officials should be glad to receive this report, since it demonstrates for them the extent of the problem and documents the necessity of their government's committing much more of its resources to its alleviation.

The United States government, in turn, whose genocide of North American Indians in the past century – and this dwarfs any crimes the Paraguayans may have committed – should demonstrate to us that it has reformed, if indeed it has, by urging Paraguay in the strongest of terms to correct the situation. Otherwise, we are accomplices.

"SINCE THE PROPORTION OF KILLINGS TO ALL DEATHS IS 20 PERCENT, WE SEE THAT THE ACHE ARE BEING KILLED BY THE PARAGUAYANS AT A RATE WHICH EQUALS THE AMERICAN RATE OF DEATH FROM ALL CAUSES."

12" – $18.00; 16" – $20.00; 18" – $26.00. All basket orders should be addressed to Kaintares, %AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683. Prepaid orders only. Price of packbasket includes harness, postage and handling.

In the early morning hours of Febrary 12th, 1979, a fire swept through an isolated home on the Duck Valley Shoshone-Paiute Reservation. Killed in the fire were activist Tina Manning-Trudell, her mother Leah Manning and Tina's three children, Ely age 1, Sunshine age 3, and Ricardo age 6. Tina's father, Arthur Manning, was severely injured.

Tina Manning-Trudell, wife of American Indian Movement National Chairman John Trudell, was an active member of the American Indian Movement, a warm person well-known for her generosity and hard work on behalf of her people.

Her death and those of her mother and her three children came just hours after John Trudell was threatened in Washington, D.C. while speaking at a rally there on behalf of political prisoner Leonard Peltier. The American Indian Movement is conducting an independent investigation as to the cause of the fire.

We grieve for Tina, her mother and for the little ones. We wish Mr. Manning a safe recovery.

Our deepest sympathy goes out to the Trudell-Manning Family.

AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE

Ganienkeh - A Portrait

by Kakwirakeron

It has been almost five years now since we left the "reservations" and cities and moved into Ganienkeh (gon-Yon-geh). Our initial settlement was on a tract of land in the central Adirondack Mountains that the whites call Moss Lake. After three years of controversy, litigation, and negotiations, an interim resolution was finally reached. New York restored 5,700 acres of forest land to the Mohawk Nation in 1977. The nine million acre land claim is yet to be fully resolved.

We relocated our settlement to a small lake surrounded by a tract of forest land. (miner Lake near Altona, N.Y.) A Private trust, Turtle Island Trust is currently raising funds to purchase needed adjacent farm land. To date some 300 acres of additional farm land has been purchased, but a minimum of 700 more acres are still needed.

In August of 1977, a crew of men from Ganienkeh (Moss Lake) and some white support groups started constructing about a dozen houses on the new land. By November the new homes were winterized enough to allow a significant number of families to move it, although under somewhat crude conditions. In the summer of 1978 more homes were constructed and now about thirty families live in Ganienkeh.

Besides the need to acquire a land base on which members of the Mohawk Nation can govern themselves without U.S. interference, there were other reasons that brought individuals to Ganienkah. One of them was to establish a self-sufficient farm community that can produce its own food. According to Karoniaktajeh (gar-loon-yuk-dah-jeh), a 61 year old Mohawk artist, originally from Kanawake, "It is a good moral logic to strive for self- sufficiency so that at no time will the collapse of the white man's economy affect us." He went on to explain "all Indians are brothers in need, whether they are working, being funded by the government (U.S. or Canada) or on welfare. For they are all dependent on the white man's economy. "He told me that the white man's economy is a very precarious thing." We have seen his economy collapse such as during the 30's "At that time" many Indians starved to death, even Indians who had been working before. Karoniaktajeh noted that during the 'depression' that "those Indians who grew their own food and raised livestock were never hungry" and that they supported many others less fortunate Indians who could not find jobs.Well Ganienkeh is going just that. We are building an economic base that will produce food by planting crops and raising livestock. Maple syrup is made from the sweet sap tapped each year. Soon that will be supplemented with honey produced from our own beehives. It will be a few years yet before we can grow enough crops to carry us year around. But at least, the processs has begun. Also we are going to reseed our hayfields in order to improve the quality and quantity of hay to feed our horses, dairy and beef cows.

Karoniaktajeh, like most of the "hard core" families, were here from the first day. However other members of Ganienkeh came in after the initial occupation of Moss Lake began. Tehakarorens (Dah-hah-gar-lor-lens) a Mohawk from the Bronx, was 19 years old when he first visited Ganienkeh in September of 1974. He had heard about Ganienkeh from a friend and came with hime to bring some food, clothing and supplies. "I liked what I saw. It was something that I was looking for." He went on to explain that he had travelled to many "reservations" looking for an Indian identity which he lacked living in the city. He was not interested in city life. "I found it too restrictive with a lot of tension". Tahakarorens said, "I wanted to get back to my heritage, being Indian by blood wasn't enough." He noted that on the outside many people "talk about being Indian, but they don't do anything about it. I want to help all Indian People, and by living in Ganienkeh, I am doing my part, instead of just talking about it."

Ioshirannion (Yo-seer-lon-yo)m a 20 year old Oneida girl from Wisconsin echos some of those same sentiments. "I liked Ganienkeh because the people weren't just thinking of, or looking out for themselves. But instead, they were thinking of the children and future generations." Ioshirannion had also travelled to many other Indian communities and she said "People were always talking about what it was to be Indian, but they didn't mean it. I mean at the same time they were talking about it, they were being assimilated. What people were saying and what they were living was not the same thing.

A different motivation attracted Kanientanoron (gah-nyen-dah-noh-loo) 22, a young Mohawk man from Kanawake. He was raised with the Mic Mac Indians in New Brunswick and speaks their language. "I was 16 years old at the time. I was young and wild. I was my own man." Kanientanoron first visited in June of 1974 and did not move in until November of the same year. "I came because it sounded interesting and very exciting. I wasn't thinking about the children or anything like that, that came later. I was more interested in the military part part of it. After about a year, I started to mature and I look a things much differently now." Kanientanoron has stayed on and settled down with a wife and two children.

CHANGES IN LIFESTYLE

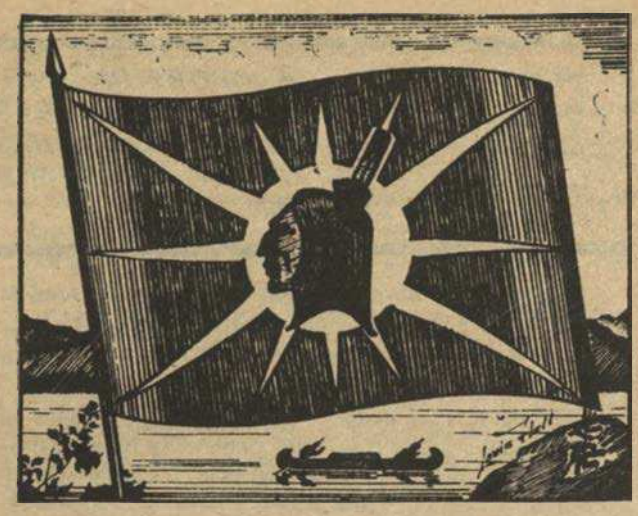
The basic lifestyle in Ganienkeh means living without electricity, running water, or central heating. Oil lamps are used for lighting, water is delivered to all the houses by horses, and wood burning stoves are used for heating and cooking. To most people, this certainly means making quite a change in life style. Since Ganienkeh is also a cooperative community, many adjustments must be made by anyone coming from a society that puts a great emphasis on personal freedom and individuality.

When asked about the change in life style and if they felt they had lost any personal freedom, Kanientanoron replied "I don't feel that I have lost anything. In fact I have gained a lot, such as a country of our own." Tehakarorens reply was, "Actually I feel that being in Ganienkeh is giving me a much freer life. I feel that the system of government and the laws are much better for our people." Tehakarorens felt that getting back to the earth was important. "The city is so artificial and unreal. Here you get a change to experience the natural things, such as making maple syrup, planting and harvesting the food we eat. You learn to live and work with out people without getting paid in money for it. You work for the good of all the people."

Both Tehakarorens and Ioshirannion acknowledged that people on the out-side put a great emphasis on higher education, such as college, and also on making a lot of money. They both agreed that this was not as important to them as learning to be traditional and working twoards helping their people. As Tehakarorens told me, "I have sacrificed many things that other people would say is a great loss, such as college and giving up alcohol." He was referring to the fact that no alcohol or drugs are allowed within Ganienkeh, a policy that has the unanimous approval of all the residents. Ioshirannion commented, "Although I have had to change my lifestyle a lot to fit into a cooperative community, I don't feel that I have lost any personal freedom or individuality. In fact, I have gained a lot."

Ioshirannion is learing to be a mid-wife. She had a baby girl born at home last winter and says "One of the most important things in Ganienkeh are the children. Here the whole community is involved in the care of the children, such as nutrition, health, discipline, teaching, and moral upbringing. It was always that way with our people. Not just the immediate parents but the entire community." She feels that this relieves the pressure from parents in raising their children. "It helps prevent child abuse, neglect, and single parent families."

Kroniaktajeh's comments on change of life style were "I have electricity in my house and oil heat. Now I use oil lamps and wood heat. At the present I am living in a very drafty house, but being a tough old dog, I've survived. At the time of this writing, we are experiencing some of the coldest days and nights with temperatures



dropping to -30F

Very few people own cars in Ganienkeh and when asked what personal freedom he felt he had lost, Karoniaktajeh replied "I can't go anywhere without depending on someone else's transportation." But then again Karoniaktajeh did not own a car in Kanawake and he does not have a drivers license.

ART WORKS VERY IMPORTANT TO A NATION

"I used to be an artist. I don't get a chance at it anymore. I have other jobs." Karoniaktajeh does indeed have many duties. He is both treasurer and Secretary of the Ganienkeh Council Fire, and he spends many hours reading and answering mail from all over the country as well as overseas. He presides over our Thanksgiving Ceremonies, weddings and funerals. He is a frequent public speaker, teaches Iroquois history part time in our school, and spent many long hours during negotiations with New York. When time permits he works at carpentry and helps with butchering of our livestock. "There will be times,"Karoniaktajeh continued, "when we are goint to have to use art work for communications, such as on signs and posters." He considers art to be very important to a nation. "It is said that a nation without art is generally considered to be low on the human scale. In time Karoniaktajeh thinks that "we are bound to get an art center of our own."

Despite all the demands on his time Karoniaktajeh has still found time to make many posters, signs, postcards, and he has designed a flag that has become the symbol of Ganienkeh, and has been made into patches. "I came to help the Warrior Society, whose project it was to repossess an area of Ganienkeh Territory," Kroniaktajeh commented "besides putting by butt on the line, I put certain skills that I had such as writing and art to benefit the project." He also publishes a small Ganienkeh Newsletter that is available to any one who wants to get on the mailing list.

The repossessing of Ganienkeh was a difficult and arduous task. It required people with the type of energy that is usually associated with young people. We were fortunate to have a complete cross section of society at all times. In reality from the cradle board to the elders. The young and eager warriors and women were usually the majority. But we were always fortunate to have the presence, experience and wisdom of those in their forties to seventies right along side of us.

Soskoharowane who is now 78 once told me, "All my life I have wanted to see something like this happen." It was a life long dream come true for him. "I have built many longhouses in my time. I guess one more won't hurt." Karoniaktajeh, never one to shun a fight, said "When I saw that the Warrior Soceity was ready to twist the Lion's tall, I decided to come along.

If anyone wants additional information or to order some of our posters, post cards, or patches, or to get on the mailing list of the Ganienkeh Newsletter. Or to make a contribution to Ganienkeh please send to:

GANIENKEH INDIAN PROJECT Ganienkeh Territory via Altona N.Y. 12910 (518) 236-7995

For Tax-deductible contributions: TURTLE ISLAND TRUST 210 E. 60th Street †2 New York N.Y. 10022 (212) 838-8092

Growing Fight Against Sterilization of Native Women

"As the Cheyenne will tell you, the strength of the Indian Nation is in their women. No matter how straight your arrows, no matter how brave your warriors, no nation is defeated until the hearts of the women are on the ground." – Dr. Connie Uri

There is mounting evidence that the U.S. government is currently engaged in a genocidal campaign designed to rid itself of the Native people. The weapons in this campaign are not the guns and epidemics which nearly accomplished this in the 19th century. Instead, the U.S. government, through the Indian Health Services and affiliated programs, has been performing forced and uninformed sterilizations on Native people in ever-increasing numbers over the last few years. Lee Brightman, United Native Americans President, estimates that of the Native population of 800,000, as many as 42% of the women of childbearing age and 10% of the men have already been sterilized.

Recent information supports this estimate. The first official inquiry into the sterilization of Native peoples was made three years ago by Dr. Connie Uri for then-U.S. Senator Abourezk (D.–South Dakota). Dr. Uri reported that 25,000 Indian women had been permanently sterilized within Indian Health Service facilities alone through 1975. All reports indicate that sterilization of Native people is on the increase. In a study done at Claremore, Oklahoma, 132 Native women were sterilized during 1973. At the same hospital, 52 Native women were sterilized in July, 1974 alone. There is some information that full-blood Indian women are being singled out, although a concrete study of this has yet to be done. Native sources report that there is one tribe in Oklahoma in which there are no full-blooded women who have not been sterilized.

In 1974, HEW provided firm guidelines for sterilization, known as the informed consent regulations. However, Dr. Uri reports that sterilizations performed on Native women were in violation of these guidelines, even though most were performed in government-operated and funded hospitals and clinics. The informed consent regulations state that no woman can be sterilized sooner than 72 hours after delivery and that the patient must be given a fair and understandable explanation of the operation, its effects, dangers, and its irreversible nature. HEW further stated that the patient must be told (and this must be written in large letters at the top of the consent consent form) that no welfare or other benefits can be withheld as punishment for refusing sterilization. The consent form must be signed in the presence of a witness chosen by the patient, and the patient can change her mind at any time regardless of whether a consent form has been signed. HEW also initiated a moratorium on sterilizations of women under 21 years of age. Non-compliance with these procedures is a violation of federal regulations. Although numerous violations were discovered by Dr. Uri and other studies, no individuals or clinics have been penalized in any significant way.

The true extent of the violations of informed consent procedures in the sterilization of Native women is only recently coming to light. Few studies have been done, and Native women are reluctant to discuss sterilization publicly. Hospital records are often incomplete or "lost", and many women do not discover until months or years pass what has really been done to them. But growing numbers are relating instances of sterilization violations.

Lee Brightman, whose growing concern over the sterilization abuse of his people may lead to a lawsuit against the Indian Health Services, discussed the findings of his visit to the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota. In only a week's time, Brightman located seven young Native women who had been sterilized unknowingly, unwillingly, or on the basis of misinformation. He reports that two of these women went in to the Indian Health Services Hospital on the Reservation to have their appendixes removed, and

came out without ovaries. One sixteen year old girl, emerging from anesthesia after delivering her first baby, was told that she "was fixed so that she wouldn't have more kids until she was eighteen." She is now 21, married, and has not conceived. Although the hospital has no record on her, it appears that she was sterilized.

Another young woman entered the hospital with an ovarian cyst and was convinced that she should have a hysterectomy (a complete removal of the reproductive organs), although common medical practice limits the treatment in such cases to removal of the cyst. Another young woman was sterilized right after childbirth while still drugged because her mother, convinced by the doctor that her daughter (a healthy young woman) would die if she attempted to have more children, sighed a consent form on her daughter's behalf. The mother had recently been persuaded to undergo sterilization herself on a similar pretext.

Rather than being unfortunate "slip-ups", Brightman is convinced that these and other instances of sterilization abuse are a conscious part of the U.S. government's "genocidal campaign against the Indian". Government hospitals use lies, scare tactics and misinformation to coerce Native women to undergo sterilization.

It is clear that Native people, although targets o particularly concerted effort, are not alone as victims of sterilization abuse. Within the U.S. and around the world, U.S. governmental and private interests are waging a battle against people of color, in which sterilization is a major weapon. Since 1966, HEW has been funding sterilizations for poor women, promoting it over other forms of birth control. Although HEW did not keep accurate records before 1973, it estimates that in 1973 alone, e, between 100,000 and 200,000 poor women were sterilized in the United States. While the money for HEW-financed child care centers, Head Start programs, and community health care centers and programs has been cut in recent years, the budget for "family planning" increased from $51 million to over $250 million in the period 1969-1974.

Racism and Sterilization

The racist underpinnings of the population control movement date back to the turn of the century when organizations formed to promote birth control among the "undesirables": the immigrants from Southern Europe and later groups such as Blacks, Asians and Mexicans. In 1945 a bill was in Congress calling for the sterilization of all Japanese-American women. The bill was defeated by only one vote. According to a 1970 fertilization study, 20% of married Black women had been sterilized, almost three times the percentage of white married women. There was a 180% rise in the number of sterilizations performed during 1972-1973 in New York City municipal hospitals which serve prediminately Puerto Rican neighborhoods. It appears that sterilization of minority and poor women is a major, unpublicized weapon in the U.S. Government's domestic "war on poverty". The government doesn't emphasize long-term self-help programs or increasing educational and health care benefits to promote development of the poor. Instead it is perpetuating the old Malthusian doctrine that poverty results from too many people. Those who benefit from the capitalist system of unequal opportunity and distribution further promote the fallacy that too many children are responsible for poverty, rather than the economic system itself. It is interesting to note that much of the research into population matters and birth control is funded by groups such as the Rockefeller Foundation, International Planned Parenthood (Rockefeller-controlled), the Population Council and the Ford Foundation.

Sterilization Around the World.

The scope of the U.S. Government and corporate interest's sterilization becomes even more ominous when considered on a global scale. Puerto Rico has the highest incidence of sterilization in the world. At least 35% of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age have been sterilized through programs largely funded by the U.S. Government. In Columbia, between 1963-1965, Rockefeller funded programs sterilized 40,000 women who were coaxed by gifts of lipstick, artificial pearls, small payments of money and by false promises of free medical care (Population Target, Monnie Maas, 1976). In many foreign countries, the U.S. Government finances population control projects through the Agency for International Development (AID). This money is being used for the testing of often dangerous sterilization techniques for use at home and for use by repressive governments against "troublesome" ethnic groups. While AID has increased money for training police in counter-insurgency tactics and medical personnel in sterilization techniques, it has reduced money given for education, health and agricultural development.

Economic Motivations

When these facts are added up, the issue of sterilization within and outside the U.S. takes on a new meaning. The issue is more than one of the denial of women's rights or one of mindless racism. The economic motivations behind the push for sterilization are becoming increasingly clear: they are part of an attempt to secure the world's resources for the already priviledged capitalist class. This is one obvious purpose behind the escalation of sterilizations in the Native population. Certainly, overpopulation cannot be used as an excuse, since the entire Native population totals only 2/5 of 1% of the U.S. population. Rather, if the present trend is not reversed, the Native people are in grave danger of extermination. In fact, according to Lee Brightman, the sterilization campaign is nothing but an "insidious scheme to get the Indian's land" once and for all. In the U.S., approximately 55% of the unmined uranium, 30% of the unmined coal, and an undisclosed amount of oil, copper, timber and other resources is on Indian land. Recent attempts to wrest the land from Native people through federal legislation repudiating previous agreements is only one side of the attack, Brightman believes. "By killing off the unborn, the government will have no more need for such legislation," he asserts. "There will be no more Indians to hold the land."

Fearing public outcry, the U.S. Government has kept its Native politics unpublicized. Yet as this information slowly comes to light, the Native people can expect support from wide sectors of the population. Recently, the feminist reproductive rights movement has joined with third world people in the struggle against sterilization abuse. Court cases are being fought and abuses are being uncovered as women gain the confidence to come forward. More speed and public support will be needed, however, if the powerful forces motivated by a desire to accumulate and control are to be stopped and the Native people are to be allowed to survive.

(This article appeared in the October, 1978 edition of the PROUT BULLETIN, 413 Malden Avenue East, Seattle, Washington 98112.)

The JoAnn Yellow Bird Civil Lawsuit

The "Sandhills" of western Nebraska, bordering on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux Reservations have long been the scene of violent racism towards Indian people. Indeed, the first public demonstration of the American Indian Movement was a march to protest the killing of Raymond Yellow Thunder in Gordon, Nebraska in 1972.

Two leaders of that movement, Bob and Jo Ann Yellow Bird, stayed on in Gordon and soon became well known for their efforts, especially for their organizing of people against police buutality. When they called for an economic boycott of white merchants until something was done about the notorious police misconduct, they became primary targets for the local racists. Death threats were made toward them and their children. Bob was brought to trial on charges which totaled 100 years possible imprisonment. He was acquitted by a jury after the trial was moved to another part of the state because of the intensity of the local prejudice.

On September 15, 1976, Jo Ann was viciously attacked by the police. A group of Indian people, including the Yellow Birds, was refused service at a local tavern. As they were leaving, someone slammed the door and the bartender began spraying "mace" at the group. The Gordon police soon arrived and began arresting the Indian people, including Bob and two of Jo Ann's brothers. The police were not gentle in their efforts. (Bob had whole patches of hair torn from his head.) As Jo Ann was telling the police to stop beating her husband and brothers, one of the police, Robert Barnes, turned and kicked her in the stomach. She was seven months pregnant at the time.

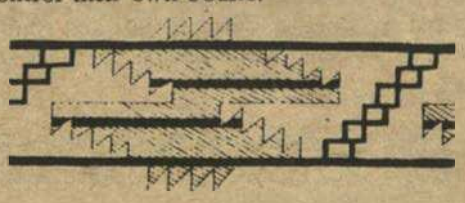
She began hemorraging and asked to be taken to the hospital. Although the only hospital in the area was right there in Gordon, she was handcuffed andtaken in a patrol car to the County Jail, some twenty miles away in Rushville.

At the jail, she was thrown into a cell with other prisoners and her repeated cries for medical care were ignored for several hours. Finally, the din raised by her protesting cellmates forced the police to take her to a doctor. But when she was taken back to the Gordon hospital, the doctor on duty examined her briefly (noting that her blood pressure was very high and she was having pains every two minutes) and refused to admit her to the hospital. Instead, she was sent, again handcuffed in the pack of a partol car, to the "Indian" hospital on the Pine Ridge reservation, over many miles of bad roads. When she arrived, the doctors there could not detect the baby's heartbeat.

Two weeks later, Jo Ann delivered a stillborn baby girl, Zintkalazi. An autopsy requested by the government was forced to conclude that the fetus had been killed two weeks earlier and that all circumstances were consistent with death from a kick to the abdomen.

Racism against Indian people has taken many forms from discrimination by local merchants, to unequal treatment in jails, to murder, including the direct genocide practiced on Jo Ann Yellow Bird.

Nothing can be done to bring back the life of Zintkalazi. But at the request of Jo Ann Yellow Bird a committee of legal workers and lawyers in the San Francisco Bay area is prosecuting a civil lawsuit on her behalf against the police, the hospital, and the individuals responsible. The objectives of the suit are to attack the system of genocide against Native Americans, to support the right of Native people to self-determination, and to promote the right of women to control their own bodies.



It will cost several thousand dollars, at least, just to pay the expenses of pre-trial investigation and preparation of this case. Although the chances of ultimately recovering any substantial amount from a Nebraska jury are small, the case is important. Already all four of the individual police officers invilved have "resigned" and left the area. Since the institutions which hire police (and doctors) seem to feel that money is more important than a human life, it is important to make them realize that their racism may be expensive.

Contributions to help cover pre-trial preparations are greatly needed. Tax deductible donations may be sent to:

Yellow Bird Civil Lawsuit
c/o Capp Street Foundation
558 Capp Street
San Francisco, California 94110

ALBERTA ADMINISTRATOR SENTENCED

In Alberta, Canada, a former administrator for the Sturgeon Lake band was sentenced on November 7 to six months in jail for defrauding the band of $3000. Max Goddard was accused of telling the band that $3000 was needed in order to bribe a government official into giving the Sturgeon Lake Development Corporation (band-owned) a road-building contract. After sentense was passed, the judge said, and we quote: "I find it particularly distressing that Goddard led members of the band to believe the only way to do business in the white man's world was to bribe them."

RUNNING AMOK AMONG DENE'S

The People of Carswell Lake – a small northern Saskatchewan community of Dene Indians – are being forced against their will to give up their ancestoral lands, and sacrifice their means of livelihood, for the sake of "economic development." Abrogating its legal responsibility to consult with Native people on the proper allocation of lands and resourceswhich are theirs by aboriginal title and treaties, the Government of Saskatchewan has given a multinational corporation full permission to develop one of the richest known uranium deposits in the world, near Carswell Lake.

AMOK (owned by the French government and Rothchilds) is the nuclear power corporation which, with the backing of the provincial government, has begun exploration and development in the Carswell Lake area. In addition to building uranium mines at Cluff Lake, AMOK will construct a twonsite at Carswell Lake – all part of a development scheme based on the prospect of a boom in Saskatchewan's uranium mining industry.

AMOK has not negotiated or even acknowledged the existence of the Dene people who consider Carswell Lake their home. These people are signators of Treaty 8, but have as yet made no land claim settlements with the Canadian government. Such an agreement, and subsequent negotiations with government and corporations, are necessary legal prerequisites to any "development" of Carswell Lake's natural resource base. The Carswell Lake Dene Support Committee has been asking for help in the form donations, petitions and demonstrations. Their address is Carswell Lake Dene Support Committee, 134 Avenue F South, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.

INDIAN CURE FOR CANCER

Essiac is said to be a traditional Indian herbal "remedy" for cancer. Rene Caisse of Bracebridge, Ont., is a retired nurse who has been treating cancer patients with the drug from her home for more than 40 years. Now the drug is scheduled to be tested by a Toronto firm, Respirin Corp. Ltd., and the tests will be conducted at Laval University in Quebec City and at the University of Toronto. The drug, which was reportedly obtained from an Indian, is named after Ms. Caisse (Essiac is Caisse spelled backwards.) According to reports, the formula for the drug is a secret, one which now apparently belongs to the Respirin Corp..

NAVAJOS OCCUPY TRIBAL PARK

On November 29, 80 – 100 people occupied the Window Rock tribal park to protest conditions on the Navajo Nation. Earlier in the day, the group presented a list of demands to the tribe, including demands for renegotiation of the Navajo Treaty of 1868, repeal of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Bill, abolishment of the Supreme Judicial Council, investigation of the massive irregularities and fraud that allegedly occurred during recent elections, and amnesty for the Window Rock 7. At mid-afternoon, police moved in and after a brief altercation, twenty-one people were arrested, including Larry Anderson, Joe Wilson, and Dennis Lee Bedonie, the only demonstrators who had been arrested during the takeover of the tribal administration building on November 12. Those arrested were released the next day without bail.

The NAVAJO TIMES ran an editorial on November 30 in which they charged that the police overreacted, and that police armed with rifles were positioned on rocks above the campground. The editorial stated that the violence erupted when police arrested some elderly women, and that the police acted in a way to provoke violence and arrests. Larry Anderson, one of the men arrested, has become a symbol in recent months of the resistance to the increasing exploitation and injustices suffered by the traditional Navajos.

PELTIER VIGIL CONTINUES

Representation of the American Indian Movement arrived in Stockholm in December to present human rights violations of U.S. court proceedings in the case of native American LEONARD PELTIER.

Leonard Peltier is a Chippewa/Sioux who is now serving time in Marion, Illinois, for the alleged murders of 2 F.B.I. - agents, resulting from a firefight that took place June 26, 1975, on the Pineridge Indian Reservation.

Lew Gerwitz and Steve Robideau, the AIM representatives, have mobilized demonstrations at U.S. embassies throughout Europe and in Australia, asking U.S. officials to grant Peltier a chance for a hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court. They ask for support by sending letters to Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, Supreme Court Building, Washington, D.C.; to Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1, Port Angeles, Washington 98362, and to Leonard Peltier, No. 89637 – 132, Box 1000 Marion, Illinois 62959.

Native Americans and supporters are organizing a 24 hour a day vigil at the U..S. Supreme Court house in Washington, D.C. beginning in January and lasting until the court makes the decision in February.

Robideau and Gerwitz will be returning to Europe in February to take part in an organized tour of many European countries to explain the struggle for Human Rights among Native Americans and Leonard Peltier in particular.

AKWESASNE NOTES' GRABBAG OF MUSIC *

HELP US CLEAR OUR SHELVES! We are overstocked with albums, 8-Tracks, and cassetts. As a special offer – for $3.50 – we will send you an album, 8-Track, or cassette of Indian music. All these items originally sold for $6.95.

When ordering please specify if you want an album, 8-Track, or cassette. Choice of program is ours. DO NOT SPECIFY PROGRAM WHEN ORDERING. This is a limited offer, and will end when stock reduction has been achieved.

LETTERS

NOTES:

I can't tell you how much I have been enjoying AKWESASNE NOTES and learning a lot from and about the struggles of the original inhabitants of North America. I am from India but am living here for some time. A while ago I used to edit the SUN REPORTER, a Black newspaper here in San Francisco. Now I work at the Book Center, and am also part of the Native American Commission of the organization.

Now, if I may, some criticisms. The article on Navajo economy was excellent, but it lacked full footnotes and also those acronyms need to be spelled out – NAPI for instance. Other than that, your paper is excellent.

Shashi Dalal
San Francisco, Ca.

NOTES:

Thanks for issues 3 & 4 (Vol. 10). Special congrats to whoever is writing the "Short Notes" section. Not only are they well-written, but they also cover a wide range. Same to Scott Rayjond for his story on Russell Means. Although the article covers more than the headline indicates, it is the type of writing I had suggested in previous letters. It gives plenty of information, covers the topic, but isn't verbatim.

The story on the Narragansett people getting 1800 acres (apparently with plenty of strings attached) was the best news I've heard in a long time. I haven't been reading the local papers too much lately but I do not recall the story at all. I suppose, however, that the "little" guy must win once in a while just to make the picture look good.

Looks as though the Christians are still getting bad press in NOTES even though many of us are helping you and other Native peoples. But then you have the same problem with the general press because of your traitors and infiltrators.

The Midwife Report ("An Indian Kind of Thing") was rather surprising inasmuch as I never knew that "home birthing" was illegal in any state. Looks as tho the AMA really has its hooks in people. But then in Pennsylvania it's illegal to do your own plumbing or electrical work. Not only that, but you need a permit from the township (or whatever the local government body happens to be,) too. Come to think of it, a birth certificate is an "after-the-fact" type of permit (like the "fit habitation" permit issued after a builder completes the construction of a home), which says you're alive and allowed to live!

"Building a Future" is interesting. I'm sure you're going to get plenty of requests to expand on your "Pole Construction" comments. A small "how to" book on the subject would probably be a profitable addition to your list of publications.

Thanks, too, for no. 5, which arrived at the end of December. So far I haven't taken the time to read it. the "Short Notes" and Bowhead article will be among the first items read.

Edwin Harler
Levittown, Pa. 19056

NOTES:

I was sympathetic to your story of Indian children being legally "abducted" in predominately Mormon areas and subjected to cultural anomie until I saw your article on the Butts custody case. You think it's a terrible tragedy for a child to grow into an "apple" – red on the outside and white on the inside – but consider it a virtue to be the opposite. It is absurd to call a light-haired, Caucasian-featured child an Indian, Black, Oriental, or whatever, and gives evidence of an inferiority complex in the people who are constantly castigating the "white man" but love to have his genes in the family. I am also sure that the statements you quoted about Indians having no racial prejudice is totally false and would be for any ethnic group. Someone is always going to take out his frustrations with white society on a person who is an unwilling genetic representative of the group he hates.

It is ridiculous, too, to speak of the child's "Native cultural values" when you admit she's spent most of her nine years with her white father and grandparents. The claims you are making are the ones Blacks have made for years, and I suspect your motives are as rooted in an inferiority-complex as theirs are. Again, if Tiffany Butts is being deprived of being "Indian" or "Native" then I can't believe that those Mormon-reared children are being deprived. If those Indian children are indeed being cheated out of their rightful heritage, then Tiffany Butts was being cheated out of hers – which is not Indian.

Robert Fabian
Ann Arbor, Michigan

While we did not write the story (it was an LNS news release,) we would tend to feel that you missed the point that a court of law in Texas has decided that a child should not be returned to the custody of her mother because of the child's alleged non-Indian appearance. That a court would make a statement like that seems to us to be a good example of institutional racism. And while we might not have stated that there is no racism on Indian reservations, Jeanne Baum apparently did say that and LNS so reported. The issue, as LNS correctly reported it, was that the decision ".. is based on racial considerations totally irrelevant to any legitimate purpose of the state to protect children from parental abuse or neglect."

NOTES:

Because I have been away from my home, I had to wait until winter 1979 to read the summer and winter 1978 NOTES. I have been peering over the two issues for hours. My tears flow, by blood boils, I feel hope then I feel despair. But I must let you know how important it is to keep the news flowing.

The news of the Longest Walk makes me weep with joy – because of the awakening – the consciousness of the new way of the earth. Thank you to the people of the Longest Walk. Thank you NOTES for bringing the insights to me.

The things that cause my blood to boil and the mixture of hope then despair is the realization of the enormity of the monster of government, industry and the social system that enforces the established stranglehold on the human and natural resources of our Mother Earth. I have hope that perhaps the elements of the Earth place that strive for the quiet and peaceful way of honoring our Mother the Earth, our Father the Sky. and Sun and air, our elders, our wise ones – that we will join ourselves to be stronger than the destructive forces at work. But I feel despair because of the vastness of the forces at work militating against the gentle, creative way.

I strive to understand the mentality, the rationale, the reasoning of such forces. I try to think the way a Carter, or Wenster, or FBI agent or BIA official or EXXON official thinks. I cannot. I keep realizing that the path they are following leads down the blind alley of total destruction and annihilation. However, it is obvious that such people do not have the same consciousness. But I think we who strive for life must try to understand how the destructive mind works so that we can begin to speak at their level and raise their level of awareness. Either that, or if time is shor, then we must begin to create the alternative ways in isolation and in co-operation with all other sane survival networks and let the rest of the world go – let nature take its course.

Suzanne Toomey
Buffalo, N.Y.

NOTES:

I, Ron Twobulls, a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, am incarcerated here at the United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, serving a term for 4th degree burglary, and am being heavily drugged.

The drug is called "prolixin". Along with the drug Prolixin, I am also given Valium. The effects of these drugs on my body has caused me to lose vision in my eyes. My speech is slow, sluggish and slurred. I am hard pressed to think in a clear intelligent manner. My skin, face and scalp have broken out in large bumps, similar to pimples. I sleep when I don't want to sleep and awake when I want to sleep. I go to school, but I can't concentrate or focus on my studies. It is bad for me. All of these are the effects of the drugs.

The drugs are not what I want. The drugs are harmful to me. I am afrais of lasting effects of the drugs. I have tried repeadtdly to be taken off the drugs, but no use. They (the administration) has not even given me any reason whatsoever for condoning the use of drugs upon me. I am not here for a violent crime. I haven't even committed one infraction of institutional rules to merit such treatment. My record is clear, yet they treat me such.

I have tried through institutional remedies to be taken off the drugs with negative relulst. They have had me on the drugs for 6 months now. I am afraid with prolonged use of these drugs I'll develop a drug habit and other permanent side effects. If I just refuse to take the drugs they lock me up in solitary and use physical force in administering the drugs. Totally against my will.

So I come to you for your support and more importantly your help in getting off these drugs. The help comes in the form of letter writing to the Warden of this institution, to make him aware that you are aware of what's happening to me. Getting together petitions to the Warden giving your support in helping me get off the drugs, and last, my friend, a letter or word of encouragement to me. Pary for me...

My address: Ron TwoBulls 10551-147, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, Kansas 66048.

You can write the Warden at the same address, just title the letter "Warden."

Ron TwoBulls
Leavenworth, Kansas

NOTES:

I have been reading your paper for many years and on occasion, come in contact with our spiritual leaders, other brothers & sisters who are involved with the movement of our oppressed people across the whole continent. My interest is in keeping up with the movement; to help our people as a whole in this U.S. government's unending determination to assimilate and/or destroy us.

The news spreads fast across reservations and the cities of how the U.S. government deprives Native Americans of their equil rights and I see your paper as a beneficial source in spreading the news of our people to others in all parts of the country; also of the good things that come of Native American peoples asserting their rights in the courts, and bringing to light the vast hodgepodge of treaties, statutes, judicial and administrative rulings and unrecorded practices of this giant, the U.S. government.

As a Native American of the Dakota Nation, I am deeply in volved in "truth" and I feel that your paper speaks "truth."

I couldn't agree more with your policy of spirituality as being the highest form of politics. All my relations!

Sherman Zephier
Wagner, South Dakota

NOTES:

I still enjoy your paper very much, but have less time to read and re-read it. I did not see anything about the United Nation's Treaty banning Genocide in NOTES. We have written petitions for the treaty to our Congressmen. One is thinking in favor of it. (President Carter is in favor of it), but one is opposed because it puts International Law over U.S. Sovereign Laws (to commit genocide?).

This is to be brought before the Senate early this year, Senator Nunn says. People need to know. If it is passed, the Red Race may have more chance of getting its sovereign rights and treaty rights restored.

Mrs. Doris Stevenson
Albany, Georgia

NOTES:

Received your issue of NOTES today and must comment on your article "Food We Eat." Native people desperately need help in this area. We have been eating natural foods (as much as possible) for years now. We have encountered much ignorance and at times ridicule because we avoided different foods (pop, processed meats, hot dogs, white bread.) To see children given a bottle of pop first thing in the morning is heartbreaking as was the case in our travels to Stoney Reserve in Alberta. But you can't force a change in eating unless the knowledge and willingness exists. Your articles will do a lot to open minds to question the foods we are told are good.

You have opened a whole realm of possible future articles – eg. preparation of soil so it can give what is grown the vitamins it needs, composts, etc.. Food – vegetables are only as good as the soil they are grown in, as research has shown that it's possible to grow carrots, for instance, that contain little or no vitamin A!

Also, you probably are aware of these publications, but ORGANIC GARDENING and its sister publication PREVENTION offer valuable research information and "how to" help. Over the years these two magazines have been a great help to us.

Keep up the good work, we appreciate the communication your paper offers. It's a valuable service.

Mike and Barbara Beaver
Covington, Louisiana

It would probably only be fair to mention that there are a number of publications that deal with the subjects of healthful living and home-produced foods, including COUNTRY JOURNAL, MOTHER EARTH NEWS, and There are, of course, others besides these. – Ed.

BOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKS

SKILLS & HOW TO

American Indian Design and Decoration by LeRoy H Appleton. 700 illustrations $5.00 paperback

American Indian Medicines by Virgil Vogel. Discusses traditional medicines and ways of combating disease. $17.70 hardcover.

American Indian Needlepoint Design, by Roslyn Epstein. Designs for many projects. $1.50 paperback.

Authentic Indian Designs, by Maria Naylor, 700 illustrations, $6.00 paperback

Blackfoot Craftworkers Book No. 15, by Adolph Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine Book. $3.50 paperback.

Cherokee Cooklore, by Mary Chiltoskey. $1.25.

Cherokee Plants, by Mary Chiltoskey. $1.50.

Cherokee Words, by Mary Chiltoskey. $1.25.

Companion Issue, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine Book. $2.00.

Craft Manueal of Native American Indian Footwear, by George White. Introduction to 25 different styles of footwear. $2.25.

Earth Medicines/Earth Foods, by Weiner. Plant remedies, drugs, and natural foods of the American Indian. $4.95.

Full Color American Indian Designs for Needlepoint Rugs, by D. Story. 32 charted plates for easy use. $2.00.

Games of the North American Indian, by Stewart Culin. A most complete work of the games of North American Indians. $10.00 paperback.

How Indians Used Wild Plants For Food, and Crafts, by Frances Densmore. $2.75.

Indian Basketry, by George Wharton James, with over 250 illustrations. $3.50.

Indian Herbology of North America, by Alma R. Hutchens. $11.00.

Indian Scout Craft and Lore, by Charles Eastman. Description and feelings he developed to become an Indian scout. $2.00.

Indian Sign Language, by William Tomkins. Signs to convey meanings of over 870 words. $1.50.

Indian Summer, by ADolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine Book. $6.00.

Indian Tipi, by Laubin. Guide to building and living in this versatile structure. $1.95.

Intro to the Handbook of American Indian Languages, by Franz Boas and J. W. Powell. Indian languages and linguistic families of North America. $2.45.

Legends Told By the Old People, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine book. $3.00.

Life in Harmony with Nature, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine book. $2.00.

Natural Remedies for Better Health, by Dr. Ingrid Sherman. Advice that will help prevent the coming of sickness. $2.95.

North American Indian Arts, by Andrew Hunter Whiteford. $1.95.

Primitive Art, by Franz Boas. More than 323 photos, drawings and diagrams. Valuable to the working artist and designer. $3.50.

Wild Edible Fruits and Berries, by Furlong and Pill. $3.95.

Working With Wool, by Noel Bennett and Tina Bighorse. How to weave a Navajo rug. $4.95.

Pole Building Construction, by Merrilees & Loveday. People at Akwesasne Notes are just completing two buildings using the ideas of this book. $4.95.

Pomo Basket Making, by Elsie Allen. Supreme Art for the weaver. $2.50.

Traditional Dress, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. $3.00.

Shelters, Shacks, and Shanties, by D.C. Beard. How to construct your shelter in the woods using only the materials on hand. $3.95.

Where There is No Doctor Well illustrated guide to home medical problems and practices $5.50 out of print

VOICES FROM WOUNDED KNEE available the end of March!!

BOOK REVIEWS

Native Americans and Energy Development is an 89-page booklet produced by the Anthropology Resource Center of Cambridge, Mass.. Basically the work is about energy development in the west and southwest and the social impact of that development on Native communities. It is a rare attempt to do a fairly extensive scientific study on the subject.

The bottom line of the report, however, may appear in the introduction by Harris Arthur who is, incidentally, a Navajo: "Even though there are now jobs that did not exist prior to the construction of the mine and power plant in the Four Corners area, the median household income has declined since 1970. (our emphasis – ed.) Per capita and mean household income appear to have increased, but the significant measure is the median household income, which is now $2520.50, or $563.50 less than the Navajo median income reported in the 1970 census."

The studies are entitled: "Energy, Agriculture and Social Science in the American West," by J.G. Jorgenson; "Black Mesa and the Hopi," by Richard O. Clemmer; "Energy Developments and the Navajo Nation," by Lynn Robins; "Can Tribes Control Energy Development?" by Nancy Owens, and "Energy Boom Towns: View From Within," by Ronald Little.

Must reading for environmentalists and Native people who have concerns about natural resources development, on or off reservations.

The booklet is priced at $4.00 for individuals; $6.00 to non-profit groups and libraries; and $10 to government and business organizations. Order from:

Anthropology Resource Center
P.O. Box 90
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Throughout the years AKWESASNE NOTES has always encouraged our readers and friends to become more self-sufficient and conscious relative to their environment. Whenever we come across books that can help people to develop skills in these areas we like to pass them on, in the hopes that others will glean something worthwhile from them. In this issue we would like to draw your attention to two very good books focusing on self-reliance skills.

The first is entitled OTHER HOMES AND GARBAGE. It was written by four engineers from Stanford University, but it is not written in such a way that you need a PhD to understand it. They have written an extensive book covering alternative architecture, localized small scale generation of electricity, solar utilization, waste disposal systems, agriculture, and aquaculture. OTHER HOMES AND GARBAGE is available in most book stores. It is published by Sierra Club Books, and costs $9.95 in soft cover.

The second book is THE NICHOLSON SOLAR ENERGY CATALOGUE AND BUILDING MANUAL. The book is printed in Canada and focuses on solar application in northern climates, but is adaptable to other climates. This book does an excellent job in covering processes for design of solar homes, solar air systems, colector fabrication, and so forth. It even includes a price list for solar components. It is packed with technical data and information that allows the reader to make his/her own decision regarding solar uses. Published by Renewable Energy Publications, Ltd., P.O. Box 125, Ayer's Cliff, Quebec, Canada J)B 1C0 or P.O. Box 216, Frenchtown, New Jersey 08825, and sells for $9.50.

BOOKSBOOKSBOOKSB

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

A BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

This book is the latest publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print, with a prologue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. $2.00

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type. Illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore.

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. $1.95.

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring.
Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." $1.75.

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. **66 pp. $2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandi, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick.**
This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for *us* to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned, they begin to decipher what has passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask.. And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." Whit photographs and poetry.

1979 LUNAR CALENDAR

The AKWESASNE NOTES Calendar for 1979 will be ready in late September. The 1979 Calendar will feature drawings by a number of different Native artists. Each page is a separate work of art you will treasure.

We urge you to order now. Many of our friends were disappointed last year because we did not have enough calendars to fill all the orders we received.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed separately to an address you have supplied to us, or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way. Each calendar you buy helps to support the work of AKWESASNE NOTES.

The price is $3.50 per calendar, including postage and handling. Overseas orders please add an extra $1.00 for postage. Individual calendar orders must be prepaid.

ORDER FORM

PLEASE PREPAY ORDER
SHIP ITEMS LISTED BELOW TO:

NAME .....

ADDRESS.....

HOW MANY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL

T-Shirts from US!!

S,M,L,XL RED ONLY $6.00each

1

2

3

AKWESASNE NOTES

4

1. COVER DESIGN FROM OUR 1983 CALENDAR

Discontinued

wholesale? write for information

PAINTED TIPI 30

THREE SISTERS 7

SHRINE OF HYPOCRISY 24

THREE HORSEMEN 12

ZUNI GOVERNOR 5

POUNDMAKER 9

FLATHEAD CHIEF 19

WOUNDED KNEE 3

DAN KATCHONGVA 15

FIRE CARRIER 13

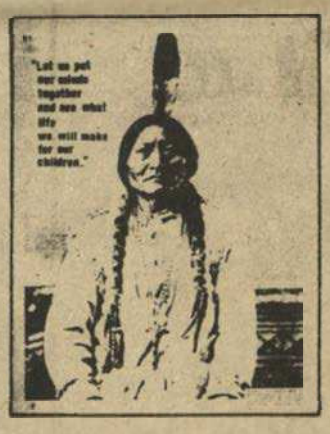
UNITY UNDER CREATION 31

CIRCLE OF LIFE 25

SHACKLED NATIVE 10

GRANDMA HUNTER 8

THE THINGS THAT ARE OURS 29



SITTING BULL 6

OUR IDEAS 16

RUSH GATHERER 20

BEAR BELLY 21

GANIENKEH POSTER 14

WINTU WOMAN 23

...POSTERS...

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PLEASE PREPAY ORDERS OF $25.00 OR LESS

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ADDRESS.....

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HOW MANY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL

Oren Lyons Print $5.00

Wholesale quantities: The posters are excellent fund-raising items for schools, groups, fairs, powwows. 100 can be shipped, an assortment, for $50.00

Posters are 17 by 22 inches and are $1 each, or 3 for $2.00. One poster, "Splinters of the Tree," (No. 28) is in full color and are $2.00 each. Please add $.25 for cardboard mailing tube. Posters are available in wholesale quantities at $50.00 for an assortment of 100. We reserve the right to substitute in selections of posters when we are out of stock. ORDER FROM:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

SEND A SAMPLE COPY OF NOTES TO:

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

For each dollar you send we'll send a sample copy and information sheet.

Volcano's Revenge

Ixalco,
The place of black sand,
Burned like a torch,
Like a beacon
Seen miles out at sea.

Izalco's flame
Was famous,
More than a natural wonder
Or a landmark,
It was a fiery breath
From a spirit
of the earth.

But those who see
In terms of tourist attractions
And the chance to make a dollar
Thought they were wise
To build a hotel
On the summit overlooking
Izalco.

The local people understood
This insult to the spirit.
And knowlingly they shook their heads
When at the hotel's birth,
The flame of Izalco
Died.

Alice Flynn

POETRY

he is a casualty
nobody noticed.
he hardly notices
except when he tries
to unclench the fist of himself
and cannot
for the long cramp

ward churchill

In a moment of approaching dawn
in the gathering light
while my eyes were weak
    but my vision could sense
that which my eyes could
    never see –
the wings of life
hidden from me
    by clouds of ashes.....
In the distance there is
    a small child on a road
    made of red earth
and I cannot know
if the quiet dawn will
    one day fill
    her soul with light

git git

Great Names

Some say these Eastern names
stand out as markers
Vanderbilt
Auchinclaus
    Kennedy
Carnegie
Hill
Hearst
and in the Dakotas
names are there
hall of fame, social register,
military magnates
Sitting Bull
Brave Bull
One Bull
White Bull
Grey Bull
Grey Bear

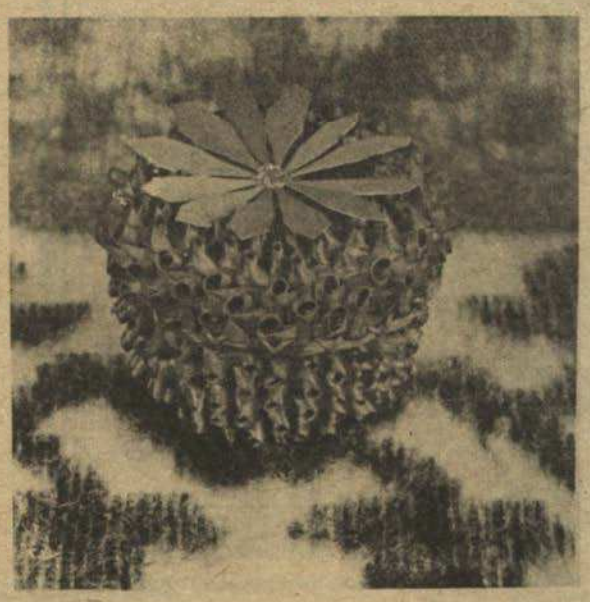
Ghost Bear
Fool Bear
Fools Crow
Crow Dog
Gall
Strong Heart
Wise Spirit
Chase Alone
Many Deeds
    Howling Wolf
Swift Horse
Whirlwind Horse

Song names
that stir the dust
with whispers and
postulations,
historical rumors

Alice Bedard Voorhees

TRADITIONAL IROQUOIS BASKETRY STYLES

A-1 – Strawberry Basket; Dyed or Natural, Black ash splint, approximately 4" x 5". $8.00



A-2 – Fancy Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural splint, approximate sizes 5" x 6", 8" x 6", 10" x 6", or 12" x 6". $8.00, $10.00, $12.00, and $14.00.

A-3 – Square Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural Splint, size 6½"x6½". $8.50